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SIDELIGHTS ON AMERICAN SCIENCE AS REVEALED IN THE HYATT AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION

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THE nineteenth century was a period of phenomenal growth in American science. At the beginning of the century there was little scientific organization, there were few professional scientists, and the scientific activities which were being carried on had negligible effect on the daily life of the time. During the century, however, scores of scientific societies emerged, facilities multiplied, science grew into numerous highly specialized professions, and hardly an area of life escaped the transforming effects of scientific knowledge. As a result, the essential features of modern science had evolved by 1900, making it possible in the present century to move from the horse-and-buggy stage of civilization to the atomic stage within the memory of a single generation.

In the biological sciences the encyclopedic " natural history " of the 18th century gave way to the separate sciences of geology, paleontology, zoology, and botany. The earth was systematically explored and fossil remains were gathered in the many museums founded during the century. Naturalists were thus able, with the aid of the theory of evolution, to reconstruct the record of millions of years of history which had been lost to humanity in previous centuries, and provide the basis for a thoroughgoing revision of man's historical and sociological outlook along evolutionary lines.

A few men, such as Charles Darwin and Asa Gray, stand in a dominating position in the story of the development of biological science, but it was a complex movement and in it dozens of unheralded lesser figures played an important role. Alpheus Hyatt (1838-1902), a pioneer in paleontology, was typical of the significant secondary leaders who brought their field of specialization to maturity, and some aspects of the remarkable promotional and scientific work taking place on the American scene are reflected in his autograph collection.

During the course of his career Hyatt set aside some of his letters in a special file which now form the Hyatt Autograph Collection (about 250 pieces) in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.[1] Because he was prominent in science and society, the correspondence in the Collection does contain many notable autographs, but it is essentially a record of activities surrounding an American naturalist of the 19th century; and though far from being comprehensive, seems deserving of notice in the story of American science.

Although Hyatt passed most of his life in and about Boston, Marylanders will be interested to know that he had been a Baltimorean. His ancestors were among the early landed proprietors along the Potomac River. Alpheus was a great-great grandson of Charles Hyatt, Esq., of Tewkesbury and also related to the founder of Hyattsville, Maryland.[2] Hyatt's father was a

[1] In addition to the Hyatt Autograph Collection, the Maryland Historical Society also possesses the correspondence of Hyatt with J. T. Gulick on the shells of the Sandwich Islands (about 30 items), and an important part of Hyatt's valuable library of early Americana, donated to the Society through the generosity of the Hon. and Mrs. J. Allan Coad in 1947.

[2] Luther W. Welsh, *Ancestral Colonial Families: Genealogy of the Welsh and Hyatt Families of Maryland and Their Kin* (Independence, Mo., 1928).

prominent merchant of Baltimore with a large colonial homestead, "Wansbeck," at the corner of Franklin and Schroeder Streets, then in the countryside. Without entering into further genealogical discussion of his background, it is enough to note for the purposes of science that Hyatt's heritage provided him with sufficient freedom to choose a career other than money-making and adequate means to pursue it.

Because of his social position, Hyatt enjoyed private tutors and college preparatory work in a private school, the Maryland Military Academy at Oxford on the Eastern Shore. After a year at Yale he was sent to Europe for the benefits of the fashionable grand tour where, like other members of wealthy families of his generation, he became critical of the materialistic standards of his own country and wanted to devote his life to something more noble than the counting-house. While in Rome he decided upon a scientific career and returned to America to enter the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, and became a student of one of the best known naturalists of the day, Louis Agassiz.

In 1858 when Hyatt entered upon a scientific career, science still had the romantic flavor of a cultural pursuit of the highest order, and something of the exalted view he had of his new career was reflected in a letter from his boyhood confidant, C. A. Wagner, who had also been on the grand tour earlier and had met Agassiz in his native town of Neuchatel, Switzerland. Wagner wrote:

> I was highly gratified to hear, that the old governor relented, and enabled you to become a man of pure science, one of the highest aims of humanity! and then to penetrate into the depths of nature's laboratory under a leader like Agassiz—man, you are to be envied.[3]

The "old governor" probably was not favorably impressed with the argument of "the highest aims of humanity" as a basis for entering a field as unpromising as science in 1858. To his credit he tolerated his son's fancy, but apparently Hyatt's other relatives were adamant against his choice of a profitless career, for Wagner goes on to say, "That scene with your Mammon-worshipping northern relatives amused me a good deal, I can see you in my imagination acting Tartuffe."

The idealistic enthusiasm of Hyatt for science could not have

[3] C. A. Wagner to Alpheus Hyatt, Jan. 22, 1859. Unless otherwise indicated, all letters cited are from the Hyatt Collection, Maryland Historical Society.

come under a more beneficial influence than that of Louis Agassiz, one of the greatest scientific teachers of all time, inspired and inspiring when he stepped up on the lecture platform. The Swiss naturalist who visited America in 1846 to deliver lectures at the Lowell Institute had become fascinated with the New World and made it his home, decisively rejecting the urgent request of the French Government to come to the Museum of Natural History as director.[4] He had felt the promise of America and planned instead to establish a museum and center of research here to rival those of the Old World. Through his ability to charm legislators and philanthropists as well as lecture audiences, the dream was rapidly becoming a reality by 1858 in the form of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard.

It was probably the spirit of a pioneering mission which attracted Hyatt to the activities of the Museum after he had come to Harvard, but once in the laboratory he found that Agassiz was a practical and rigorous scientist who made his students spend weeks examining a single zoological specimen before he was satisfied with their observations on it. As a result of Agassiz's ability to recognize talent and his combination of severe training blessed with inspiration, almost all of his students became leaders in their respective fields of natural science during the course of the century.[5]

Hyatt was among Agassiz's early American students and stood high in his favor. Upon graduation from Harvard in 1862 with an award of first degree, Hyatt's distinguished teacher predicted that he would secure "an enviable position among the scientific men of our time."[6] The prediction was not made without basis, since Hyatt had already demonstrated proficiency in the classification of specimens and had done creditable work on a fossil-hunting expedition to the island of Anticosti in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence prior to graduation. The outbreak of the Civil War, however, gave pause to Hyatt's scientific research.

Ardor for the Union cause was strong at the Museum. Agassiz became an American citizen to express his faith in the Union and about half of his students volunteered in the Union Army. Hyatt's sense of duty impelled him to enlist in the Union Army, too,

[4] Jules Marcou, *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz* (New York, 1896), II, 70-74.

[5] Lane Cooper, *Louis Agassiz as a Teacher* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1945).

[6] Louis Agassiz to Alpheus Hyatt, Sr., Mar. 19, 1862.

although only his mother in his immediate family accepted his decision with understanding. The rest of the family was firm in the Confederate cause and treated him with years of cold silence for his loyalty to the North.[7]

Thanks to his military training at Oxford, and to the intercession of Agassiz on his behalf,[8] Hyatt was given a commission in the 47th Massachusetts regiment. After completing his service with distinction, he engaged upon a lecture series for the benefit of sick soldiers in his old home town of Baltimore. Agassiz took this occasion to extend his friendship to Hyatt's mother with the following letter, probably in an effort to smooth over the effects of Hyatt's loyalty to the North:

Cambridge, Dec, 21, 1863

My dear Mrs. Hyatt,

I understand that your son, Mr. Alpheus Hyatt, has offered his services to deliver a series of lectures in Baltimore for the benefit of the sick soldiers. As this will be his first appearance before the public as a scientific man, allow me to introduce him to you in that capacity. It might perhaps be more appropriate were I to address these lines to any other person than his mother; but as I have no extensive circle of acquaintances in your city and you may be pleased to preserve yourself what his old teacher has to say of your son I see in this circumstance rather an inducement to write to you.

It gives me real pleasure to be able to state that Mr. Alpheus Hyatt has gone through an extensive course of studies in the various branches of Natural History, embracing zoology, paleontology & geology in all their specialties and that he has mastered them to the extent of being fully qualified to carry on original investigations for himself. He is now actively engaged in the preparation of a work on fossils which will do him the highest credit and at once place him on a level with the savans of the day, as soon as it can be published. I have no means of judging how Mr. Hyatt will appear as a public lecturer, as he has not yet made the attempt to address large audiences. But I know that his extensive information fully qualifies him to impart accurate & trustworthy lessons. Of course a young lecturer can not be expected to understand fully the art of captivating an audience; but I am sure Mr. Hyatt will soon acquire it, as he possesses the essential element with which to engage the attention: knowledge thoroughly his own.

Mrs. Alpheus Hyatt
Baltimore

With great respect
Yours very truly
Ls Agassiz

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[7] Alfred Goldsborough Mayer, "Alpheus Hyatt, 1838-1902," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXVIII (1911), 132.

[8] Louis Agassiz to Governor Andrew, Aug. 10, 1862.

Hyatt and other students who had left the Museum for war service returned to their former center of research during 1864, forming a corps of assistants for Agassiz. The arrangement did not prove to be a happy one, however, for Agassiz was overworked, frequently ill, and in his zeal to promote his institution expected more subservience from his former students than he was entitled to. His assistants worked for little or no pay and wanted to carry on some research while on duty. When Agassiz issued a set of directives which denied the assistants any opportunity to work for themselves during museum hours, the situation became intolerable to them.

The discontent at the Museum entered into professional gossip as far away as St. Petersburg where Cleveland Abbe was studying astronomy at the Russian Imperial Observatory. Abbe summed up the attitude of the young assistants when he wrote to Hyatt,

> So far as I can understand the 'regulations' of Agassiz Museum they aim at securing to the Museum & the Directors the sole disposal of all work done in the building or with the specimens—a course not calculated to advance the general object of such an Establishment.[9]

Discord passed into open rebellion in what was known in academic circles as the "Salem secession." Some dissatisfied assistants left Agassiz during 1864, but early in 1865 a walkout was staged by A. E. Verrill, F. W. Putnam, E. S. Morse, A. S. Packard and Hyatt, with all but Verrill seceding to the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts, where they helped in setting up a new center of research, the Peabody Academy of Science. Hyatt took a leading part in the revolt, the organization of the Academy, and the founding of the first permanent American journal devoted to biological sciences, *The American Naturalist,* serving as one of its editors in cooperation with his fellow rebels.

The "Salem secession" took place at the beginning of a period in American history which was remarkable for its rampant entrepreneurial activity; it was an era in which captains of industry were transforming the economic nature of the nation into its modern form. In fact, the picture of robber barons ruthlessly exploiting the resources of the country and cornering unprecedented wealth

[9] Cleveland Abbe to Alpheus Hyatt, Apr. 21, 1865. Cleveland Abbe (1838-1916), director of the Cincinnati Observatory where he began to issue weather reports, assisted in establishing U. S. Weather Bureau, and edited meteorological journals.

as a reward for their organizing genius is so colorful that it tends to obscure the less spectacular, but no less thorough organizing activity that was taking place in the professional areas. Thumbing through the Hyatt Collection and seeing the names of correspondents like James McCosh of Princeton, F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia, Andrew D. White of Cornell, J. William Dawson of McGill, and D. C. Gilman of Hopkins suggests the type of builder occupying presidential chairs of universities. Likewise, the names of Joseph Henry, F. V. Hayden, J. W. Powell, F. B. Meek, Spencer F. Baird, and Alexander Agassiz bring to mind the institution-building within the federal government through such agencies as the Smithsonian Institution, the National Academy of Sciences, the U. S. Geological Survey, the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, the United States Fish Commission, and the U. S. National Museum during this reputed age of "laissez-faire" political philosophy. The impulse to build was in the air and fanned out in all directions.

The most spectacular entrepreneurs in the paleontological field were the competing tycoons of the fossil resources of America, Edward Drinker Cope [10] of Philadelphia and Othniel C. Marsh [11] of Yale. Each spent a large fortune in trying to outdo the other at monopolizing the fossil beds of the West, their behaviour at times reaching a scandalous notoriety in the press, but as a result of their energetic buccaneering warfare they gathered the store of knowledge to be found in the western fossil areas at a pace comparable to the conquests of the economic entrepreneurs. The rebels from Cambridge could not command the same resources as Cope and Marsh, but they shared in the spirit of organizing.

After the Peabody Academy of Science became a going concern, Hyatt left Salem to take a position at the Boston Society of Natural History where he set on foot the Teachers School of Science, a new kind of enterprise designed to provide lecture courses for the public school teachers of Boston. The urge to organize found further expression in a marine laboratory and

[10] Edward Drinker Cope (1840-1897), son of wealthy Philadelphia merchant, was connected with the Hayden Survey and other western exploration expeditions. He made extensive fossil collections and contributed over 600 titles to work in paleontology.

[11] Othniel C. Marsh (1831-1899), nephew of philanthropist George Peabody, was head of the Peabody Museum at Yale University. In addition to making large collections of fossils, Marsh reconstructed pre-historic remains such as the dinosaur with unusual skill and showed the evolution of the horse through fossil remains.

summer school which he established on his private estate at Annisquam, Massachusetts, in 1879. When Annisquam proved unsuitable for the kind of marine work Hyatt envisaged, he assisted in organizing the famous laboratory at Woods Hole, transferring his Annisquam equipment to the new laboratory and serving as first president of its board of trustees. Hyatt helped institute the American Society of Naturalists and served as first president. In addition he was an active member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Geological Society of London.

Few periods in American history lend themselves to an economic interpretation as well as the latter half of the nineteenth century, but nowhere does the economic explanation of human behaviour fail more completely than in accounting for the motivation behind the work of natural scientists such as Hyatt. The organizational work of these scientific builders was for the most part non-profit, usually consuming wealth instead of producing it. The single venture that Hyatt was connected with which was operated on a basis of profit and loss was the professional journal, *American Naturalist,* and an insight into its financial status can be seen in the remarks of Professor Cope who bought an interest in it and served as editor from 1877 to 1896:

> As a matter of gossip I will mention that the publishers of the [American] Naturalist were recently closed up by the Sheriff, and I thought that the magazine was certainly killed this time. Had the situation continued, it would have been the fourth time that the publishers of the Naturalist have suspended publication after receiving the subscriptions. However the situation turns out to be only temporary, and the Naturalist will be issued as usual and on time. The present publishers are the best it ever had since I had charge, as they made it pay expenses in 9 mos. after they got to work. They expect to see the receipts in excess of expenses during 1894, *if subscribers will pay up*.[12]

The drive in naturalists like Hyatt to promote science was motivated by an intellectual inspiration rather than by economic wants. The scientific faith enunciated by Francis Bacon in the 17th century had expanded until, in the hands of French *philosophes* like Condorcet, the progress of science was equated with the progress of civilization. This Enlightenment concept was embodied

[12] E. D. Cope to Alpheus Hyatt, Nov. 10, 1893.

in the intellectual fibre of the American Republic and in the burst of cultural nationalism which followed the Declaration of Independence, the " Advancement of Learning " became an integral part of American pioneering, leading to a phenomenal growth of societies dedicated to the promotion of the arts and sciences.

It was in the idealistic milieu of promoting science for the sake of humanity that Hyatt's generation found so much inspiration for their work. However, in making their faith bear fruit they shared in the practical methods of their partners in the economic field. This union of idealism and realistic methods is strikingly revealed in the letters of Hyatt's friend, Albert Bickmore,the directing force behind the foundation of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

Bickmore had been one of the first of Agassiz's students to leave the Museum in 1864. In his reaction to what he regarded as monarchism at the Museum, Bickmore conceived the idea of building a republican museum in New York, and began to carry out his humanitarian enterprise with the shrewdness of a Jay Gould cornering the gold market. Hyatt was his trusted colleague at the Museum where Agassiz's students were on the verge of seceding and Bickmore wrote to him from New Haven:

> I have just had a short interview with Prof. Dana,[13] who entertains our undertaking with the greatest favor. . . . He will write a note to be read at the proposed meeting, expressing his pleasure at the prospect of a great museum in N. Y. & his confidence in the ability & training of the corps of young men who propose to do the work if the New York people will furnish the money.
>
> He likes much the idea of making it so to speak a republican institution & thinks the director of the museum [Agassiz] made a great mistake in adopting the opposite policy & scattering the young men he had trained to do such work.
>
> . . . We shall call on Mr. Folsom[14] on Monday & then make arrangements in regard to the dinner & who the guests shall be. Said dinner will probably take place on Thursday evening, as we shall have to ascertain how the matter takes with A. B. & C. before they get an invitation.[15]

Bickmore was virtually a " nobody " in New York, but he knew

[13] James D. Dana (1813-1895), outstanding American geologist, professor at Yale, editor of the *American Journal of Science*, and author of *Manual of Geology* which was a standard text of the field.

[14] Probably George Folsom (1802-1869), Senator from New York, editor, and prominent member of the American Geographical and Statistical Society.

[15] Albert Bickmore to Alpheus Hyatt, Wednesday [1864].

how to get around, and better still, how to stand in the background " manoevering to make everything come right." From New York Bickmore wrote:

. . . I called on Mr. Folsom again this morning, taking with me the various Museum Reports & showing him the standing of the men who would like to come & build up a great Museum in New York if the money could be furnished.

He expresses himself deeply interested in the whole scheme & desirous that a beginning be made at once. . . . Mr. Folsom will probably be President & will let us do as we please. He entertains the right ideas as to the necessity of having a great Museum on the proposed Zoological & Botanical Gardens, and likes the idea of its being managed according to republican principles, and not like a *monarchy*. I read him Professor Dana's note, which speaks strongly on that point as I expressed the wish to Prof. D[ana]. that when I should receive it, I should find it might. I have told Mr. F[olsom]. as much about the Great Annihilator [Agassiz] as was necessary and found him *sound* or willing to be. I think all our fears as to Prof. A[gassiz]'s interfering with our plans are now without foundation. You may rely on it that I shall see that they fully understand " whats what," and who will assist & who destroy.

. . . After my talk with Mr. Folsom this morning you need entertain no fears. Any attempt on the part of the Director of the Museum in C[ambridge]. to injure any one of us would only be the best recommendations for him that he could possibly have here. Its precisely the thing—though of course we should avoid it—that will help our cause most & make it sure of complete success *at once*.[16]

After noting that the rapid advance of gold operated badly for their cause, making business men feel unwilling to embark in any new enterprise which demanded large sums, Bickmore assured Hyatt that he was getting more and more determined to see the thing done and entertained " not the slightest doubt that it can be done, by taking time & not making a coup de main before the proper time comes."

The dinner which Bickmore had arranged was a fund-raising affair. Shortly before it was to take place he wrote:

I have had a long and delightful talk with Mr. Bierstadt[17] this afternoon. He enters into our plan so enthusiastically as to offer to give $1,000 himself & do all he can by influencing the wealthy men he knows to give in proportion. If they should do so it will be an easy matter to raise a million.

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[16] Albert Bickmore to Alpheus Hyatt, Thursday [1864].

[17] Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), landscape painter famous for his western scenes and recipient of many foreign honorary awards.

He cannot be present at our meeting but wished me to say that a poor artist on 10th St. would give a thousand.

I intend to send him an invitation & let him write a reply, stating his interest in our enterprise & the donation he is able to make.

So far—so good.[18]

Bierstadt also offered to paint a picture about 20 feet long to show the public the magnificence of the proposed Museum and volunteered to speak to Alexander T. Stewart, the retail store tycoon, about support for the plan. However, the proper time for a *coup de main* had not come, so Bickmore postponed his "scheme" for a museum in New York until after he had taken an expedition through the Dutch East Indies. He met with better success at a later date, won the backing of wealthy New Yorkers and the political bosses, Tweed and Tilden, and by 1869 the American Museum of Natural History was incorporated. Bickmore served as Superintendent until 1884 when he took over the position of curator of a new project, the Museum Department of Public Instruction, designed to facilitate public education in natural science.

In the meantime Hyatt and his fellow rebels had seceded to Salem to build a republican museum. Actually, Hyatt would probably have been reluctant to re-establish himself as far away from Cambridge as New York. He did not experience the same hostility towards Agassiz as Bickmore, and, anxious as Hyatt was to escape the jurisdiction of his former teacher, he was equally anxious to complete the classification of the fossil collection at the Museum of Comparative Zoology on which Agassiz had started him. The Cephalopod[19] section of the Museum had been assigned to Hyatt and continuation of his work on it furnished a basis for reconciliation between Agassiz and his assistant shortly after the "secession." The large collection of fossil specimens at the Museum provided a main body of research materials for Hyatt throughout his professional career and he found it convenient to make his home in Cambridge to be near them.

Facilities for carrying on scientific work was a good reason for Hyatt's preference for the Boston area, but a more attractive one

[18] Albert Bickmore to Alpheus Hyatt, Friday [1864].

[19] Cephalopoda is a class of the phylum Mollusca, containing the squids, cuttlefish, nautilus, and other highly developed invertebrates. Hyatt was particularly interested in the nautiloids, ammonites, and other snail types of fossil Cephalopoda.

was the nature of his social life. The Baltimorean seems to have been an authentic example of the genteel, generous, and refined sort of person about whom the South so often boasts, and he was warmly accepted into the cultural life of Boston. Probably through the sponsorship of Agassiz, Hyatt was taken into the remarkable social clubs about Boston, the Chestnut Club, the Thursday Club, the Round Table Club, and the Saturday Club, where he hobnobbed with Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, Hoar, and Higginson. He was also a welcome guest at the *salons* of the patrons of culture, such as that of Mrs. George Ticknor, and was a frequent visitor to the dinner tables of Boston's social leaders. After he had established his own home, "Norton's Wood," in Cambridge, Hyatt, too, became one of the popular hosts to social functions.

The club meetings were sparkling affairs, pervaded with an atmosphere of cigar smoke, wit, and good-fellowship. A number of the letters in the Hyatt Collection relate to the activities of the clubs or resulted from friendships which grew out of the club gatherings, and reflect the punning style of the meetings. Because of the interest attaching to the writers themselves, a few instances from the letters illustrating this spirit of pleasantry seem worthy of inclusion here.

The historian and librarian, Justin Winsor, on the occasion of Hyatt's summer residence at Duxbury, Massachusetts, dubbed Hyatt a "Duxburongtrian" and in the course of his letter remarked,

> I suppose you will go over to Plymouth soon to hear your brother Kentucky declaim about Plymouth Rock, and say how he wished he could have been there. The Irish poet too is to see how it seems to kiss the Blarney Stone of the Old Colony—so it is said. I hope he will forget the wrongs of Ireland for once.[20]

One of the most illustrious of the club members made the informal style a characteristic of his learned works in a manner which has endeared him to students of psychology and philosophy for over half a century. William James wrote the following letter in connection with a club meeting after Hyatt had made his home in Cambridge:

[20] Justin Winsor to Alpheus Hyatt, July 18, 1889. I have been unable to identify "brother Kentucky" or the "Irish Poet."

Saturday night [1878]

My dear Hyatt

I meant to have brought you the list in person one night last week but on the point of starting found that I had forgotten your accursed street and so waited till Shaler [21] told me. (I had not the wit to look on the list where I now see it!) I can't go tonight on acc[ount] of a sick family and it is rather doubtful whether I can get an evening in the week to make my long postponed visit to you. I leave for Baltimore Friday or Saturday and so to my great sorrow cannot share your grub or hear your talk. Give 'em your poorest and keep your best till next time when I shall be there.

Truly yours

Wm. James

A notorious activity of William James was the investigation of that scientific fringe area of psychic powers. Both he and Hyatt were members of the Psychical Society and the following letter relates to a case of supernatural powers which Hyatt had experienced:

[*c.* 1889]

My dear Hyatt

A thousand thanks for coming so spendidly up to time! Would that other phantasts were like unto you!

One more request: may I print your illusion as it stands, with one or two other illustrative cases in the chapter relative thereto of a book which I am preparing? [22] And may I print your learned name? It makes things more real to do so.

Truly yours

Wm. James

Despite the convivial character of the clubs and *salons*, they were more than social gatherings. They were also informal associations for the promotion of American intellectual life and the self-improvement of the participants. Mrs. Ticknor, for instance, was a founder of the Society to Encourage Studies at Home, and Hyatt often found himself giving talks on natural science to the ladies.[23] The club meetings, too, had a heavy

[21] Nathaniel S. Shaler (1841-1906), professor of geology at Harvard, dean of Lawrence Scientific School, and geologist in charge of Atlantic Division of the U. S. Geological Survey.

[22] *Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols., (New York, 1890). On p. 102, Vol. II, James gives Hyatt's experience in Venice which he had thought to be a supernatural manifestation but which proved to be a shadow from the moonlight cast through his bedroom curtains.

[23] Anna E. Ticknor to Alpheus Hyatt, Feb. 14, 1884.

intellectual fare following their sumptuous dinners, too heavy for the taste of some members as the musician John K. Paine implied when he wrote to Hyatt, "I shall be delighted to be present Saturday evening to hear your learned address, which will be as clear as mud to me. If I am able to understand it I may offer to set it to music, if this meets your approval." [24]

The social clubs brought Hyatt into friendly contact with a varied group of intellectuals—naturalists, poets, artists, musicians, clergymen, and literary men—who shared in each other's specialized interests, if not with complete understanding, at least with a feeling of approbation for one another. The cosmopolitan equality of the clubs also created a comradeship between the professors and the dispensers of endowments, the latter being proud to display the intellectual achievements of their culture to visiting persons of importance from Europe. These social relationships might seem peripheral to science, but they should not be underestimated in the mechanics of getting things done. When Bickmore moved into the New York area to build an institution for natural science, he understood that his success depended, among other things, on how well his organization was supported by persons of influence.

Without implying in any manner whatever that Hyatt "used" his social prestige, the fact remains that his widespread friendships with cultural leaders were of inestimable value to his entrepreneurial enterprises for the advancement of science. The social life about Boston also provided Hyatt with a congenial setting for the expression of his humanitarian impulses, inseparable from his desire to spread the gospel of science.

Hyatt was deeply concerned over the failure of the educational systems to prepare young recruits for a life of science. He was an ardent disciple of Agassiz's teaching methods which, long before Dewey, emphasized learning by doing. Hyatt charged that instead of teaching students the discipline of observation, the schools tried to teach through the media of books on the same basis as mathematics and the languages.

> In some places even, [Hyatt remarked], a tendency towards investigation is considered a disqualification, since it withdraws the mind from giving

[24] John K. Paine to Alpheus Hyatt, n. d. John Knowles Paine (1839-1906), American composer, organist, and director of music at Harvard College.

full attention to the practical duties of the classroom. . . . Undoubtedly, the teacher in such places may need and acquire a certain amount of dexterity and success as a mental taxidermist; but that he will ever intentionally train a single student to do original work is beyond belief.[25]

To remedy the situation Hyatt, with the backing of his friends, had instituted the Teachers School of Science.

By encouraging the public school teachers to learn the art of careful observation in natural science, Hyatt hoped to bring enlightened teaching methods into the public school system. He encountered some opposition to his plan, even within the ranks of the Teachers School as he discovered when he tried to interest Ellen H. Richards, one of the teachers, in becoming supervisor of the school. Mrs. Richards flatly refused saying:

. . . I do not believe every teacher *can be* fitted by any number of courses in science to teach science properly to the pupils of grammar school grade. I believe that we shall have a really effective science teaching only when this fact is recognized, as it already is in the case of Music and Drawing! and when a director of science teaching is appointed who shall have charge of the work in the whole city, with a central laboratory at command.

While I appreciate the efforts which the teachers school of science have made, I have, I hope, through my work in that direction, earned the right to say, when I am driven to bay, that I consider it like pouring water through a sieve so far as true science teaching in our schools goes.[26]

Mrs. Richards, an instructor of sanitation chemistry, foreshadowed the philosophy of efficiency, specialization, and administrative centralization of a later period in her proposed remedy to the problem of producing scientists through the public school system. Hyatt had a more humanitarian measure of the work he was doing, however, for he belonged to the poetic school of nature typified by his friends Emerson and Longfellow; he wanted, not only to teach the facts and methods of science, but to instill in the children a genuine appreciation of the richness and majestic quality of nature as well. Many testimonials to his teaching indicate that Hyatt, like Agassiz before him, seasoned the rigors of learning with the charm of a nature enthusiast.

Although the effect of the Teachers School on the course of science cannot be ascertained, it undoubtedly was beneficial in

[25] Alpheus Hyatt, "The Business of a Naturalist," *Science,* Vol. III, No. 49 (Jan. 11, 1884), p. 44. *ff.*

[26] Ellen H. Richards to Alpheus Hyatt, [*c.* 1887].

spreading interest in science. Even though the instructors volunteered their services, regular courses of lectures were presented, and a series of readable handbooks was written by Hyatt and others for the guidance of the teachers. About 1,200 teachers had taken advantage of the school by the end of the century,[27] and they most likely had a chain-reaction effect in passing on their newly-won knowledge to others. In the Hyatt Collection there are letters expressing appreciation for the educational opportunities Hyatt had made available at the Teachers College and at his summer school at Annisquam, but the most fitting tribute to his services to the public was the Hyatt Memorial, an endowment raised through subscriptions after Hyatt's death to enable city children from Boston to be taken out into the countryside for nature study.

Aside from his kindly interest in making more people appreciate the study of nature, Hyatt also considered the popularization of science to be of fundamental importance to the progress of science itself. The promoters of science had to face apathy among large sections of the people and often vigorous opposition, particularly among religious groups who saw in science a growing materialism and challenge to the Scriptures. In a country like America where the power of the people in legislation could seriously restrict the conditions of research, our scientists had the added duty of winning public approval for their work. Hyatt called attention to this fact in his presidential address to the Society of American Naturalists in 1884. He pointed out how otherwise well-informed people were coming to regard science with hostility, emphasizing how anti-vivisection movements were restricting physiological research. He blamed the scientists for a failure to recognize their social responsibilities because of their fatal fascination with a "cloister-like seclusion in abstraction." [28]

Hyatt realized that science does not exist in a vacuum, but in a social environment which exerts a continuous pressure on its results. He felt that the time scientists might gain for investigation by remaining at home and standing aloof from popular disturbances would inevitably mean a loss of influence and the possible loss of future facilities for the prosecution of their work. In his address to the naturalists, Hyatt stated that one of the most important purposes of their organization was to take measures to

[27] Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[28] Hyatt, *op. cit.*

enlighten the people regarding the benefits of science and to prevent the growth of prejudices which might in time paralyze the advance of science in America. Through popular education the scientist must take an active part in creating an environment favorable to the growth of science.

Identifying scientific progress with the progress of civilization, Hyatt devoted much of his time to public education. So, too, in New York Bickmore worked for the enlightenment of the public through the Department of Public Instruction of the American Museum of Natural History. At the National Museum in Washington another of Hyatt's friends was carrying on the same goal, though without the social approbation Hyatt and Bickmore enjoyed. Lester F. Ward lacked the gregarious quality and was critical of the professional orthodoxy which had accompanied the academicians in their rise to power in science. Ward's work in biology was respectable enough, but his claim to fame was in sociology and the academicians revenged themselves by ignoring it, although in Europe Ward enjoyed many honors, including the presidency of the *Institut International de Sociologie* at the Sorbonne in 1903.

Ward was suspect in the eyes of the academicians on two counts: He was thought to be a materialist, and he openly advocated more government action in the social process. Sharing in the same faith as Hyatt that mass education, especially in science, was one of the keys to progress in civilization, Ward was impatient with the pace of the philanthropic process, but in spite of his impatience and the hostility he aroused, Ward continued to do what he could through the voluntaristic lecture system on behalf of public instruction.

Hyatt recognized Ward's merits in science, if not in sociology, and wanted to nominate him for election to the National Academy of Sciences. Ward was dubious about his chances of election, feeling that his works "would have an unfavorable influence on the average academician." [29] However, in answer to Hyatt's request for a list of his works to be submitted with the nomination, he sent about forty of his scientific papers to Hyatt's summer home, or, as he put it, "cleaned out the Augean stables and dumped the refuse on the beach of Annisquam." In a discussion about the selection of works to be submitted, Ward related the

[29] Lester F. Ward to Alpheus Hyatt, Sep. 3, 1901.

following anecdote which reveals some of the perils facing a non-conformist:

There is another paper that I consider one of my best, entitled: Status of the Mind Problem. You will find it in two forms, and thereby hangs a tale. It was one of our Saturday lectures, and was delivered at the National Museum under the auspices of the Anthropological Society of Washington, of which I was then, I think, vice-president for Psychology. Some one, not I, had arranged to have these Saturday lectures published in the Smithsonian Report. I knew nothing of it, saw no proof, and supposed the Ms was in the hands of the Secretary of the Anthrop. Soc., where I placed it according to instructions. But one day Professor Goode [30] asked me to come over, and showed me my 100 reprints from the Smithsonian Report. He said he had consulted with the Secretary and it had been decided that it would not do to have it appear in the Sm. Rep., as the public might complain that the Institution was using public funds to propagate materialistic ideas. I told him that if I had known it I would have objected myself to its publication there, not on that ground, but because it does not properly contain any original research. Professor Langley [31] afterwards took pains to assure me that he had no objection to the doctrine, but thought such papers ought to appear in some independent journal of free discussion, in which I, of course, fully agreed with him. The paper was expunged from the report. Professor Goode said I could have and distribute the reprints on condition that I would remove the covers, which alone indicated that it was out of the Smithsonian Report. The Anthrop, Soc. obtained the electroplates from the Government Printing Office and published it as a special paper of the Society. The public got wind of it (not through me) and there was a lively discussion in the newspapers all over the country. Nearly all the papers severely attacked the Secretary for suppressing free speech. Even clergymen wrote letters to the same effect. They said: "Of course it is rank materialism, but we want free speech in this country."

The curious thing was that, as you can see, the paper was chiefly an argument to prove the mind is *immaterial*! One day soon, after, Professors Marsh and Goode, were sitting together in the rotunda of the Museum as I passed, and Professor Marsh stopped me and said he wanted me to send him that paper. He had read some one's copy, and it was the best thing he ever read. He knew a good thing when he saw it. I suggested that Professor Goode would not probably agree with him (it was really all his doings as he was very religious). I thought he would sink into the floor.[32]

As Ward had expected, he was not elected to the National Academy of Sciences. Since the bulk of his work dealt with

[30] George Brown Goode (1851-1896), prominent member of Fisheries Commission, Smithsonian Institution, and director of National Museum.

[31] Samuel Pierpont Langley (1834-1906), astronomer, physicist, and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Langley is best known today for his work in developing the airplane.

[32] Lester F. Ward to Alpheus Hyatt, Aug. 24, 1901.

sociological matters, the membership of the Academy probably questioned whether such materials constituted contributions to knowledge.

The drive in Ward, Bickmore, Hyatt, and a host of others to promote and diffuse scientific knowledge, in addition to being firmly rooted in their republican and Enlightenment heritage, was closely interwoven with a widespread scientific philosophy of environmentalism. Indeed, the philosophy of environmentalism was one of the most important of the social forces in the late 18th and the 19th centuries, but it had moved from the hands of the philosophers to those of the scientists in the 19th century. The earlier environmentalists had relied heavily on the psychological theories of John Locke which were interpreted to mean that all men came into the world with equal mental capacities and that the difference between the average plowhand and the genius was the result of environmental opportunities. Improve the environment and the human product would likewise be improved. Lester F. Ward came to virtually the same conclusions in his sociological studies of genius, but he had new evidence on which to draw the analogy, evidence that Hyatt had taken a leading part in developing.

Today Darwinism and evolution are usually indiscriminately lumped together as synonyms, but in the 19th century Alpheus Hyatt and E. D. Cope had developed a straight environmentalistic theory of evolution which accorded only a secondary role to Darwin's theory of natural selection. This theory, Neo-Lamarckianism, won many converts, including Lester F. Ward, and as late as 1918, Charles Schuchert, in a survey of the past century of geology, could say, " In America most of the paleontologists are Neo-Lamarckian, a school that was developed independently by E. D. Cope . . . through vertebrate evidence, and Alpheus Hyatt . . . mainly on the evidence of ammonites." [33]

The rudiments of Neo-Lamarckianism began to take shape in Hyatt's mind shortly after Darwin's *Origin of Species* made its debut in 1859 and while he was still a student of Louis Agassiz. In adopting the idea of evolution Hyatt asserted his intellectual independence from his teacher, for Agassiz was one of Darwin's most adamant opponents among the naturalists. Although much

[33] Charles Schuchert, " A Century of Geology: The Progress of Historical Geology in North America," *A Century of Science in America* (New Haven, Conn., 1918).

of his work had pointed in the direction of a theory of evolution, Agassiz balked at the idea that species were in a state of flux and took their form as a result of the Malthusian laws of "struggle for existence' 'and "survival of the fittest," because he held the religious conviction that species were God-given and immutable. He attacked Darwin's hypothesis of evolution as the flimsiest speculation and totally unscientific. Darwin's logic was cogent and his theories were sustained by subsequent investigation, but at the time Agassiz was on firm ground in accusing Darwin of abandoning facts in favor of imaginative deductions since there was no conclusive proof to support the theory of evolution. Agassiz's position was strong, but Hyatt turned to the camp of the evolutionists.

Hyatt decided to test the hypothesis of evolution on a large collection of ammonite fossils which the Museum had acquired, and by employing embryological methods he traced the evolution of the ammonites, formulating out of his study the theory that adult stages tended to appear earlier in successive generations by omitting some of the younger stages of development. He published his theory as the "law of acceleration" in 1866 and sent a copy to Darwin who tucked it away in his library and forgot it after noting on its back, "I cannot avoid thinking this paper fanciful." [34]

In the meantime Professor Cope arrived at a similar theory and published it a few months after Hyatt's paper. Darwin took cognizance of Cope's theory and included it in the sixth edition of his *Origin of Species* (pp. 137-8) as a possible mode of transition in the evolution of species. When his attention was called to the fact of Hyatt's earlier publication, Darwin wrote an apologetic letter to Hyatt which opened a correspondence and friendship between them.[35] No one appreciated Darwin's contribution to biology more than Hyatt, and when Darwin told him in 1881 he was aware that Hyatt felt he had done nothing for the "Descent-theory," Hyatt was dismayed to think he had become classified as an opponent to Darwin's theories. Nevertheless, it was true that he had reached the point where he thought Darwinism failed to

[34] Francis Darwin, *More Letters of Charles Darwin*, 2 vols. (New York, 1903), II, 339, note 1.

[35] There are five letters in the Hyatt Collection from Charles Darwin. All but one were published by Francis Darwin, *op. cit.* There are also five letters from Francis Darwin in the Collection dealing with the publication of the correspondence between his father and Hyatt.

explain the actual " origin " of species, though he readily admitted that it did account for the survival of species after they had been generated.

From his study of ammonite fossils Hyatt had become convinced that the changes in form and organization of bodily structure in the ammonites was directly correlated with the pressures of their physical environment. While Darwin believed that new or variant characteristics appeared fortuitously, and were preserved, if advantageous, through natural selection, Hyatt maintained that the environment acted directly in causing those changes which led to the formation of new species. When Cope came forward with the same environmentalist views as Hyatt, they joined forces in pressing for a modification of the Darwinian theory of evolution.

The similarity of the Hyatt-Cope theory to that of a pre-Darwinian evolutionist, Lamarck (1744-1829), led to a revival of interest in the 18th century philospher who suggested that the giraffe's neck got that way from reaching for leaves in tall trees, and the Hyatt-Cope theory took on the name of Neo-Lamarckianism as it gained recruits.[36] Lacking the 20th century knowledge of genetics, this theory seemed to many paleontologists to accord most satisfactorily with the facts in their field. It would not be too much to say that a whole generation of American paleontologists carried out their research by adopting the views and methods of Neo-Lamarckianism. That Hyatt was a recognized leader of the movement is apparent in letters of the Collection, especially in the explicit tribute of Robert T. Jackson who told Hyatt:

> In my paper which I want to go to the printers tomorrow if I can get it off I want to speak of those who work on stages, acceleration &c as Beecher, Smith &c as the Hyatt School. I dont suppose you object. It certainly is a school in its definite methods and aims and certainly recognizes you as its head.[37]

Although Hyatt was influential among his fellow workers, he has remained relatively unrecognized in the broad history of 19th century evolutionary thought. He did not leave large theoretical treatises behind for the historian to evaluate, and his modesty prevented him from giving his views wide publicity. Added to this, Hyatt's works often suffered from a ponderous and complex

[36] A discussion of the Neo-Lamarckian school can be found in Chapter XX of Alpheus S. Packard's *Lamarck, The Founder of Evolution, His Life and Work* (New York, 1901).

[37] Robert T. Jackson to Alpheus Hyatt, Sept. 6, 1898.

style. When he gave popular talks he could put his ideas across in plain language, but when he wrote for a scientific public he strove for an excessive precision of terms which even the experts had difficulty in following. Recognizing that Hyatt was burying his importance beneath too much technical jargon, Professor C. O. Whitman [38] took upon himself the friendly duty of trying to help Hyatt see his shortcomings. The following excerpts from Whitman's letter are blunt, but pertinent for he knew that Hyatt was big enough to take his criticism in the spirit of sincere friendship:

> I am glad if you find my little paper of any interest. I hope you do not think I underestimate your main results. On the contrary, I look upon them as an enduring monument in the science. I want to confess however, that while I think you have placed the *main* fact beyond dispute, I do not see that you have anywhere shown that the Lamarckian mode of interpretation is the correct one. . . .
>
> I wish you would put the *history* of the one characteristic you traced into the form of a lecture, with a plentiful supply of illustrations. If you would do so, and do it in the *simplest possible English,* throwing terminology to the winds, you would do us a great service. Let us have the story in the style of Huxley's story of the horse pedigree, so simple that it becomes a pleasure to read. . . .
>
> It is literally true that you have hurt your own cause and hindered the recognition of the truths you have discovered, by loading them down with what seems to me superfluous and very repelling terminology. In these days of much writing, we require simplicity of language, not an over burden of new terms. Especially does this hold in all departments of biology where there is much difference of opinion on fundamental matters. Even in the dept. of neurology, where we must have a good supply of terms, it is possible to so overdo the matter as to actually nauseate the reader. I think Darwin, Balfour, and Huxley are among the best models in biological writing, and how simple, direct, and clear these authors are. How very few terms they invent.[39]

Though Hyatt had difficulty in making his theoretical position lucid, relying heavily on personal influence to perpetuate his theories, his memoirs on the classification of fossils were models of their kind. The Lamarckian views were there, but were subdued by the practical demands of presenting the data of research. Praise for his papers on the Cephalopoda came from all quarters of the world. From France Charles Barroit wrote, " Not only are

[38] Charles Otis Whitman (1842-1910), zoologist, director of the Marine Laboratory at Woods Hole, 1888-1908, curator Zoological Museum at University of Chicago, and editor of a number of publications.

[39] C. O. Whitman to Alpheus Hyatt, Oct. 25 [*c.* 1897].

your works on the Cephalopods interesting in themselves, but they have deservedly served as models to an entire school, which considers you to be the founder of true scientific phylogeny." [40] Dr. Fischer commended Hyatt on one of his papers and remarked that it " would have a great influence on the paleontologists who are looking for a guide in phylogeny in order to reach the most perfect classification of fossils." [41]

English naturalists were no less enthusiastic over Hyatt's work. Darwin regarded Hyatt as an authority on the Stenheim fossil deposits. Huxley wrote, " I should be very ignorant of that which I ought to know if I were not acquainted with your name & works in relation to the Cephalopoda." [42] Richard Owen, who seldom agreed with either Darwin or Huxley, acknowledged that one of Hyatt's memoirs was " a model of the way & aim in & by which such researches should be conducted in the present phase of Biology." [43] Referring to another work, Owen exclaimed, " Rarely have I studied any Paper with more profit & pleasure! " [44] In Germany the foremost historian of geology and paleontology, Karl von Zittel, referred to Hyatt as the leading man in paleontological Cephalopods.[45]

In the face of the encomiums about his work in classification, Hyatt, with a customary modesty, wanted credit to go where credit was due and in the preface to a study on the fossil group Arietidae declared his debt to his former teacher by saying:

> I desire to record my deep sense of obligation to the late Prof. Louis Agassiz, under whose direction my studies upon the Arietidae were begun. His instruction and advice were none the less valuable because we differed in theoretical views; to him I owe the methods of observation which are used in all my work.[46]

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[40] Charles Barroit to Alpheus Hyatt, Apr. 22, 1898 [In French]. Charles Eugene Barroit (1851-?), noted geologist of the University of Lille, France, and member of the French Institute.

[41] P. Fischer to Alpheus Hyatt, Apr. 23, 1890 [In French]. Paul Henry Fischer (1835-1893), well-recognized paleontologist and authority on Brachiata fossils.

[42] Thomas H. Huxley to Alpheus Hyatt, Sept. 11, 1883.

[43] Richard Owen to Alpheus Hyatt, Oct. 14, 1881.

[44] Richard Owen to Alpheus Hyatt, Feb. 17, 1885.

[45] Quoted in Eastman to Alpheus Hyatt, July 7, 1898 [In German].

[46] Alpheus Hyatt, " Genesis of the Arietidae," *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,* No. 673 (Washington, D. C., 1889), Vol. 26. For a complete bibliography of Hyatt's papers see memoir of Hyatt by William K. Brook, " Biographical Memoirs," National Academy of Sciences, Vol. 6 (1909).

Hyatt's work in classification owed its excellence to the inductive method which Agassiz had drilled into him as a student: the fact must take precedence over the theory. Like the German scientists and American scholars who made a fetish of the inductive method in the 19th century, Hyatt was certain that his theoretical views had arisen from the facts he had observed. But unfortunately, his specialization in facts became so narrowly channelized that he was unable to prove whether or not the theories derived from his study of the Cephalopoda had any general validity. Had he been more concerned with the theoretical aspect of science instead of constantly accumulating more data in the same direction, Hyatt might have exerted far more influence on the course of science than he did.

Hyatt's conception of science also minimized the importance of the recluse in "cloister-like seclusion in abstraction" in favor of the socially useful individual who was up and doing, gathering facts, promoting science, organizing societies, and building institutions. This was the kind of scientist America needed for her pioneering stage of science and the efforts of Agassiz, Hyatt, Bickmore, and others of their type played an important role in revolutionizing the status of natural science in the 19th century and making their environment a fruitful field for scientific growth. American was busy filling out her bodily structure in science as well as in economics, but she was drawing heavily on European sources for that "pure theory" which seems to originate among scientists who treasure the social isolation attacked by Hyatt.

The scientific progress which Hyatt valued so highly needs the lonely thinker as well as the promoter. In biology, for instance, a retiring naturalist who avoided the public arena as he pondered on the origin of species gave to Hyatt's profession a new direction in 1859. At the close of Hyatt's career the principles of heredity worked out by the Viennese monk, Gregor Mendel, as he studied peas in his "cloister-like seclusion" again altered the course of Hyatt's profession and relegated Neo-Lamarckism into obscurity. As a result of the rise of genetics, the extreme environmentalist views which were held by the many correspondents in the Hyatt Collection are no longer in vogue in the Western World, but fortunately the vitality and faith of these 19th century Americans in their mission of making a better American environment has continued to be a part of the national tradition.

TUDOR HALL AND THOSE WHO LIVED THERE

By Martha Sprigg Poole

SITUATED at the top of a hill commanding a magnificent view of Breton Bay below stands Tudor Hall, former home of the Barnes and Key families and now the St. Mary's County Memorial Library. It is on the outskirts of Leonardtown in St. Mary's County.

The building has had at least three forms: (1) As it was when it belonged to the Barnes family and perhaps others prior to 1815; (2) As it was from about 1815 to 1950 when it belonged to members of the Key family; and (3) As it is today after being remodeled in 1950 under the direction of Miss Gertrude Sawyer, architect, of Washington, D. C. Those who see it now are looking at a rectangular structure, 90 by 30 feet. The rose-colored bricks show great irregularity and give evidence of some of the changes that the building has undergone. Four massive interior chimneys and an attractive "look-out" rise from the hipped roof. On the water side an inset loggia with four columns and an interesting floor of slaps of field stone [1] with four stone steps leading to the doorway welcomes the visitor. A well-proportioned, traditional porch gives access from what was formerly the garden at the rear.

As the visitor stands on the wide pavement of squared weathered brick which extends across the front of the loggia, he is immediately struck by the variations in the patterns of brick in the facade.[2] The ends of the building to the height of the first story are constructed of large old brick. Toward the center the walls are of smaller later brick. On either side of the loggia perpendicular

[1] Tradition has it that they came from Aquia Creek, Virginia, which is near the home of Thomson Mason. He married Mary Barnes, daughter of Abraham Barnes, who acquired Tudor Hall in 1744.

[2] Until last year the exterior was covered with a smooth yellow stucco. Removal of the stucco revealed Flemish bond brickwork in the old wings and common bond in the newer portions.

joints or lines in the brick work show where the original walls have been continued toward the center. Seven courses of brick of the later work are required to match six courses of the older work. A relieving arch over the entire width of the loggia has been filled in with later brick. It is obvious that the oldest parts now visible were once two one-story identical wings and that later construction filled in the space between them and also raised the house to its present height. The whole presents today the appearance of symmetry and thoughtful design.

The interior is now arranged to meet Tudor Hall's present function as the county library. On entering the door the visitor finds himself in a large room formed by removing the partition between the central hall and the parlor. The most interesting feature of the first floor is the stairway, as graceful in design as it is agreeable to use. Its general lines are those of the colonial period, though the railing and newel post are of later date. In the ceiling of the second floor above the stairway is an attractive but simple plaster decoration. There is little ornamental woodwork. The mantels appear to date after 1800. Several of them have tapering fluted columns. One is of marble enclosing an ornate iron fireplace.

The most interesting room is the kitchen reached from within by several steps down to a brick floor. The wall toward the house is mostly taken up with a large fireplace equipped with a crane. On the left next to the fireplace is an arched opening with a door in the brick work where bread or meats were cooked. It is lined with metal and has a door below it for deposit of coals and a small amount of wood. Beyond this at left is the hot water tank with spigot and similar heating arrangement, a most unusual feature. The fire and ash compartments have separate doors. This kitchen is substantially as it was when Tudor Hall belonged to the Key family.

The Barnes family owned the property from 1744 to 1804. In 1798, when Richard Barnes was the owner, it was described as follows by the tax assessor:

A Dwelling house of wood 46 by 22 feet an addition of Brick to each end, 30 by 22 ft. 8 windows 4½ by 2½ ft. 10 do. 3½ by 1½ ft. Kitchen of wood 36 by 20 ft. Store 20 ft. square, Meat house 16 ft. square Corn House 28 by 16 ft. in good repair situated at Leon[d]Town [3]

[3] St. Mary's Co. Tax Assessment Records of 1798 (Book "D"), pp. [10-11], Maryland Historical Society.

This description suggests that the central section may have been of the story-and-a-half marine type, with small dormer windows. Other St. Mary's County houses of this type were built in the early 18th century. The original section of Tudor Hall, therefore, may have been built by one of the predecessors of Abraham Barnes: Perhaps one of the Barnes family added the brick wings.[4]

The dimensions of this 1798 building fit in exactly with those of the remodeled Tudor Hall of Key family occupancy. Miss Sawyer found many evidences of re-used timber in the brick central section. All things considered, there seems little, if any, reason to doubt that the stages in the evolution of Tudor Hall have been (1) the construction of the central wooden structure, (2) the addition of two one-story brick wings, (3) the removal of the central wooden structure, at which time (4) the central brick portion was built and the second story was added to the whole building. Then or subsequently the whole exterior was covered with smooth yellow stucco divided into rectangles about eight by fourteen inches in size.

Tudor Hall of the time of the Key family represented the home of a cultured country gentleman of the 19th century. If not a striking architectural gem, it betokened stability and "solid comfort," and it exuded the gracious hospitality and security that characterized life in such surroundings. The interior of Tudor Hall during this period can be reconstructed by examining the floor plans and by referring to the inventory of the estate of Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key who lived there from about 1817 to his death in 1872.[5] To complete the picture, we have the recollections of Henry's grandson, Dr. Sothoron Key of Washington, D. C., who was born at Tudor Hall and subsequently was one of its owners until 1947.[6] The traditional central hall was extended through the house. Turning to the left (upon entering from the water side) one found oneself in the "parlor," a functional room where the family gathered ordinarily but which was also used for "company" dinners. The inventory of H. G. S. Key's estate for

[4] It has often been stated that Tudor Hall was built by Abraham Barnes about 1756 or 1760. In the light of the official description of the house in 1798, this supposition is open to challenge. In any case, Barnes left for England in 1761 intending to make it his permanent residence. It is unlikely he would have built a new mansion on the eve of his departure. He advertised the place for rent in 1760, and presumably he did not act on impulse.

[5] St. Mary's Co. Inventories, June 12, 1872 Court House, Leonardtown.

[6] The writer is grateful to Dr. Key for his helpfulness.

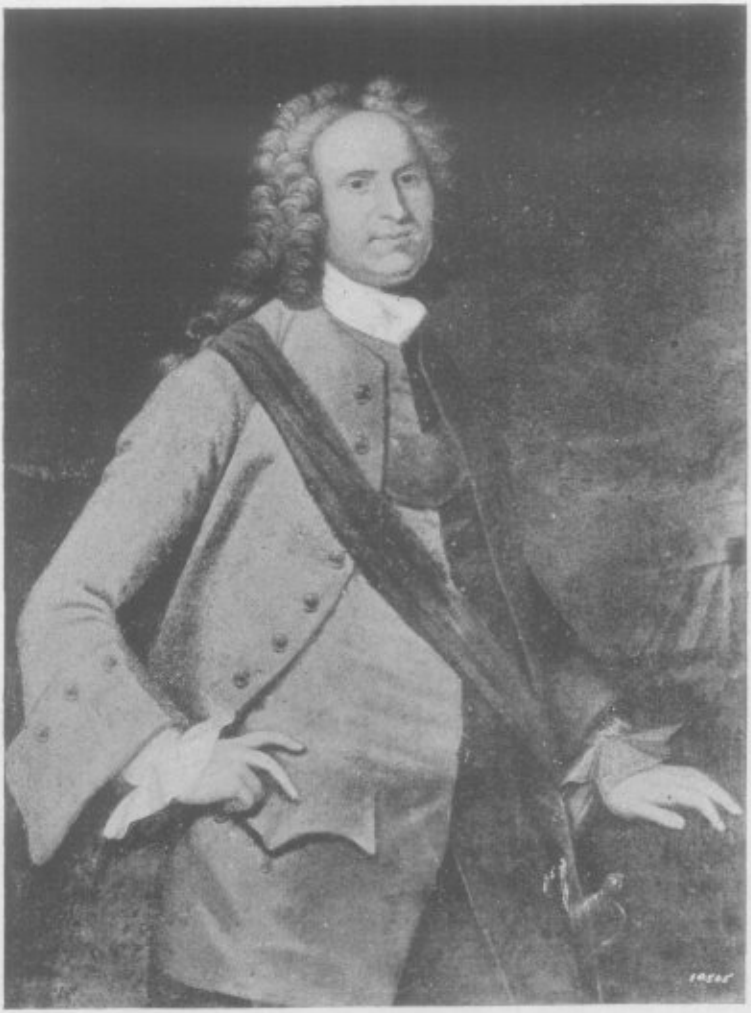
this room includes three large mahogany tables and a sideboard. Here on court days hearty meals were spread for local and visiting jurists, lawyers, and others having business at the county seat.

From the parlor one passed either into the drawing room at left or into the "parlor closet" at right. The drawing room, approximately 22′ by 19′, contained Victorian furniture, including a Brussels carpet, piano, sofa, marble slab table, two card tables, and a checker board. Here hung portraits of the Key family and pictures of General George Washington, Roger B. Taney, James Buchanan, and John Randolph, as well as a picture of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The "parlor closet" was in reality a small library and sort of male sanctum combined with a place to keep the best table linen, china, and glass.

Turning right from the center hall, one passed under the stairs to a long hall from which opened the family dining room or breakfast room. A modern housekeeper is appalled by the fact that to reach the kitchen from the breakfast room it was necessary to go through the hall and housekeeper's room — at least 28 feet, and then down three steps into the kitchen which was approximately 23 by 15 feet. We can understand why, even with slaves, many women died young in those days! In the housekeeper's room and adjoining storeroom were kept the table silver, every-day china and glass, provisions, and supplies.

On the second floor were eight rooms. These rooms included the Master's room, nursery, "red room," "white room," "far room" and three other rooms, one of which was used for storage in the 19th century. They contained the usual bedroom furniture of the time including bed with feather mattress, washstand, bowl, and pitcher. All rooms on the second floor had open fire-places necessitating andirons, fenders, shovels, and tongs. The "press room" contained blankets and linens. It was also a "tuck hole," such as exists in the best regulated houses, into which (according to the inventory of H. G. S. Key's estate) for want of a better place had gone such miscellaneous objects as "old articles"; a broken lamp holder; saddle, bridle and blanket of the deceased; scraps; sacks; a double-barrelled shotgun; thermometer; and watering pot.

Dr. Key recalls that the house was surrounded by a beautiful garden and park. The garden was laid out into formal plots separated by gravel paths and outlined by shrubs and flowers. By his time, the location of the graveyard of the former owners, the

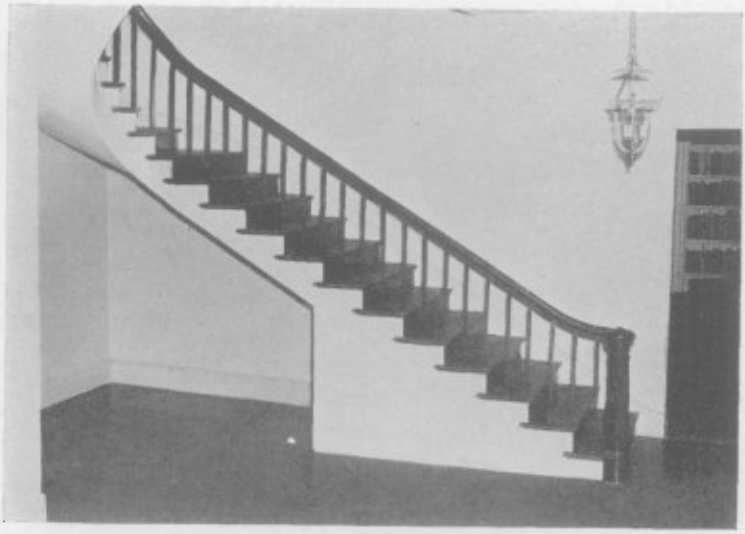


COL. ABRAHAM BARNES (Ca. 1715-1778)

This portrait has sometimes been identified as a picture of Col. John Barnes, ancestor of Abraham Barnes. Judging by the costume, it must have been painted in the mid-18th century, thus in the middle years of Abraham Barnes' life. Traditionally attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller, it was undoubtedly made many years after Kneller's death (1723). The resemblance to the work of John Wollaston, active in Maryland 1754-55, is striking.

Photograph from Frick Art Reference Library by courtesy of the owner, Mrs. Mason Porter Cusachs.

TUDOR HALL BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS OF 1950



MAIN STAIRWAY IN TUDOR HALL

FIREPLACE AND OVENS IN KITCHEN CHIMNEY

GARDEN FRONT

Perpendicular joint in brickwork may be seen to the right of porch

Barnes family, had become largely traditional; the stones were no longer in existence and, as a boy, Dr. Key thought of it solely as the place where the best wild asparagus grew!

Many fine trees formerly surrounded the house. These are remembered by some who regret the fact that numbers of them have been removed. In addition to stately oaks there still are today a magnificent yew, very large and rare, several horse-chestnuts, catalpas, paulownias, and mimosas as well as some American box.

There remain just a few of the former outbuildings. The inventory of H. G. S. Key's estate lists the usual farm animals and implements. Five yoke of oxen, each animal individually named, were valued high by the appraisers who also listed a McCormick reaper at $10, a drill at $100, the family carriage at $150 and another large carriage at $50.

Many details concerning Tudor Hall will never be known since a fire in 1831 destroyed most St. Mary's county records. This unfortunate circumstance means that there are gaps not only in the history of the building but in the biographies of those who lived there. We can, however, fill in the main outlines of the lives of these men and women — the original owners of the land, Philip Lynes, Abraham and Richard Barnes, John Thomson Mason, and several generations of the Key family.

The first owners of the land where Tudor Hall now stands may or may not have had a house there. They were Bartram Obert [7] and Dominick ——— to whom the land was granted in 1649 for transporting themselves into the Province in 1646. Nothing more is known of these original owners, except that in the Assembly Proceedings for this period there is a reference to a "Monsieur Obert" which may mean that he was of French origin. This is borne out by the fact that their claim for land was presented by John Jarboe, a prominent early settler from France. The names of the grantees seem to have been strange to the Land Office clerks, who entered a dash for the last name of Dominick, and list Obert one place as Bartholomew and elsewhere as Bertram. According to the claim put in by Jarboe, there was Bartram Obert and also Bartram Obert his son under 16 years of age. The land surveyed was on the east side of Breton's Bay, 200 acres

[7] Obert may be the same person found in references in E. G. Swem, *Virginia Historical Index* (Roanoke, 1936) II, 349.

in all, for which the owners were to pay a yearly rent of four shillings sterling or two bushels of good corn.[8]

On an early Rent Roll, this tract is called "Little St. Lawrence."[9] On a later Rent Roll, however, it is referred to as "Shepherd's Fields Possessor Phillip Lynes of Charles County, William Bright, his tenant."[10]

Although Phillip Lynes lived from about 1649[11] to 1709, he reveals all the characteristics of the successful big business man as he is usually depicted in later years. Persistent, shrewd, ruthless, he took advantage of every opportunity to improve his position and ended his career a member of His Lordship's Council; dying, he left a large part of his estate to various churches.

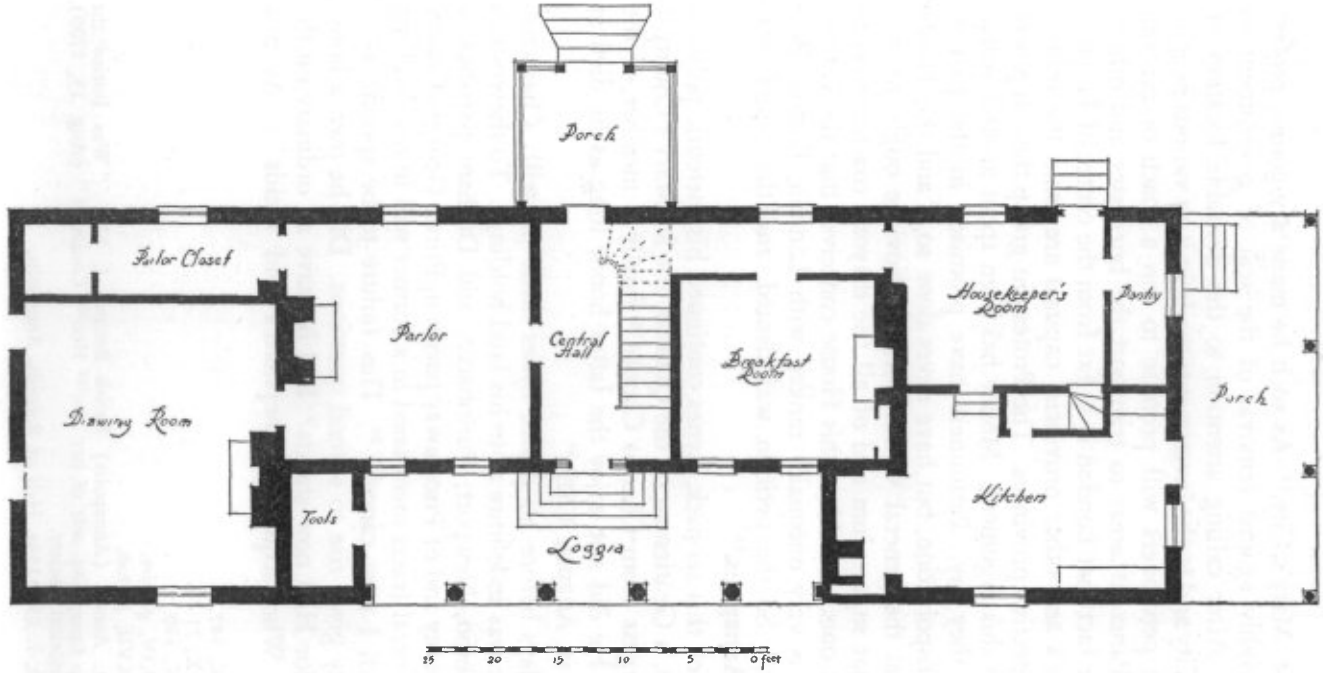
He is first mentioned in the *Archives* in 1670 when he witnessed a deed in Charles County.[12] Within a few years he had become established as an innkeeper with ordinaries at Portobacco and St. Mary's City.[13] Here he entertained the great and the lowly.

For many of the great he was paid from the Public Levy. But many of the less well-to-do found Lynes' hospitality too tempting for their pocket-books, as a consequence of which Lynes was a perennial litigant throughout his life, seeking in the courts judgments against his many debtors. When death removed any of the latter, Lynes lost no time in seeking to be appointed administrator of their estates.[14]

Lynes' ordinary at St. Mary's City served in various capacities. In addition to its function as an inn, it at one time or another served as a place of meeting for the Council, as an office for the Provincial authorities, or as a place to keep prisoners.[15] He frequently reported to the government officials that he had heard this or that seditious utterance, and he never lost an opportunity to sign any testimonial being prepared.[16]

All these services gained recognition when, in 1694, he became

[8] Land Certificates, Liber 2, f. 607; Warrant Liber AB and H, f. 26, 38; Patents, A. B. and H, f. 121, Land Office, Annapolis. *Archives of Maryland*, I, 222; X, 376.
[9] Rent Roll, St. Mary's Co., Liber "O," f. 24, Land Office, Annapolis.
[10] Rent Roll, Charles and St. Mary's Co. # 1 and 2, f. 27, Land Office, Annapolis.
[11] *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, 433.
[12] *Ibid.*, LX, 265.
[13] *Ibid.*, LX, 527; XIII, 178.
[14] *Ibid.*, LX, XIII, XXII, *passim*. Testamentary Proceedings, 13, 14, 14a, 15a, *passim*, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[15] *Archives of Maryland*, XIII, 201, 254, 255; VIII, 120, 259, 419; XVII, 269.
[16] *Ibid.*, XXII, 202; V, 494; VIII, 138, 504; XVII, 70.



River Front

TUDOR HALL, ST. MARY'S COUNTY

Plan of First Floor Before Alterations of 1950

Courtesy Miss Gertrude Sawyer

Mayor of St. Mary's City.[17] As such he made a vigorous protest to the Assembly against removal of the seat of government to Annapolis. After calling attention to the desirable location of St. Mary's City and to the investments made in it by various people, he says the petitioners will promise to run a coach or caravan service to Patuxent areas to transport the burgesses and others. He cites the fact that London is as far from the center of England as St. Mary's and other provincial capitals are from the centers of their respective provinces. The Protestant group then in power was cold to this argument. Money has been spent around Annapolis, too, they say. Petitioners have promised in the past to provide transportation, but have never done so, " and this House believes that the general welfare of the Province ought to take place of that sugar plum and of all the mayor's coaches who as yet has not one. . . . Also, this House conceives that the City of St. Mary's is very unequally ranked with London, Boston, Port Royall, etc." So the petition was denied, and the capital was moved to Annapolis.[18]

In spite of this set-back, Lynes continued his meteoric political career; first, a Gentleman of the Quorum for St. Mary's County,[19] then a Burgess from Charles County,[20] finally a member of the Council.[21] He did not enjoy the latter honor long as he died at Annapolis in August, 1709.[22]

A few days before his death, Lynes made his will. Characteristically, he was indefinite as to his land holdings. To the vestries of Pickawaxon, Newport, Portobacco, and Durham parishes in Charles County and of Piscataway parish in Prince Georges County he left " several tracts mentioned in a former will in my dwelling house which I now cancel." [23] This failure to be specific as to his property gives rise to several questions. Did he own a house where Tudor Hall now stands? Did he have an ordinary on the property? Who acquired " Shepherd's Old Fields "? As pre-

[17] *Ibid.*, XX, 147.
[18] *Ibid.*, XIX, 71-78.
[19] *Ibid.*, XX, 190.
[20] *Ibid.*, XXIV, *passim.*
[21] *Ibid.*, XXVII, *passim.*
[22] Copy, St. Anne's (Annapolis) Parish Record, I, 378: "Was Buried the honble Phillip Lynes Esq. one of her Majtys Honble Counncill" (Aug. 13, 1709) Maryland Historical Society.
[23] Wills, 12, f. 151a-154a, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

viously mentioned, there are no land records of St. Mary's County available to help answer these questions.

Fortunately, some light is thrown on the subject as a result of the circumstance that shortly before his death, Lynes — tireless old schemer that he was — had become an active advocate of moving St. Mary's County Court from St. Mary's City to the head of Breton Bay. On December 1, 1708, His Lordship's Council of which Lynes was then a member, considered a petition to this effect from the inhabitants of St. Mary's County, as a result of which an Act was passed providing Commissioners to purchase and cause to be surveyed, laid out and divided into 100 lots, 50 acres belonging to Philip Lynes on his land called " Shepherd's Old Fields " near the head of Breton Bay. The County Court was to be held there in a Court House which the Commissioners were to have built on an acre of ground donated for that purpose by Philip Lynes. Meanwhile the Justices were to keep the County Court at the house of Thomas Cooper.[24]

It seems that the Assembly, in changing the location of the County Court had overlooked the fact that by a previous Act they had promised that the Court would be continued at St. Mary's City, so, in November, 1710, the Assembly reenacted the Act for holding St. Mary's Court at the Court House " now built at Seymour Town in Shepherd's Old Field." [25]

Meanwhile the Assembly had passed an Act for laying out a town to be called Leonardtown at a place formerly called Seymourtown adjoining the place where the Court House of St. Mary's County then stood. Fifty acres were to be divided into 80 equal lots. The owner of the land was to have first choice of any two lots. No one person could purchase more than one lot during the first four months and during that time only residents of the County could be purchasers. The lot must be built on within twelve months. Evidently no land speculators were to be tolerated! Each house must cover 400 square feet and no chimney was to be constructed of anything but brick or stone. The former purchasers of Seymourtown were to be protected, and no one was to encroach on the property of the heir-at-law of Thomas Cooper, deceased.[26]

[24] *Archives of Maryland,* XXVII, 229, 346.

[25] By 1733 this building had become impaired and decayed. In that year the Assembly voted to build a brick court house on the same site. *Ibid.,* XXVII, 569; XXXIX, 483.

[26] *Ibid.,* XXXVI, 286-289.

The expected rush for Leonardtown lots did not materialize, for in 1730 Thomas Spalding (husband of the heir of Thomas Cooper mentioned above and hence owner of the land on which Leonardtown was located) was granted permission to cultivate the lots in Leonardtown pending their purchase. This evidently did not relieve the situation, for in 1740 Spalding petitioned the Assembly for authority to break the entail on his Leonardtown property (which he calls "Coopers Purchase"). He said the land was much the worse for having Seymourtown, later Leonardtown laid out on it, and it was then of so little value they could not do anything with it and wished to sell it. The Assembly concurred, the entail was broken, and presumably the land was sold.[27]

From the above it may be inferred that "Shepherd's Old Fields" passed through the hands of Thomas Cooper and his son-in-law, Thomas Spalding, losing acreage to Seymourtown, later Leonardtown. Be that as it may, the remaining acreage in 1744 was surveyed into "America Felix Secundus," granted in that year by resurvey to Abraham Barnes.[28]

Abraham Barnes, who thus acquired Tudor Hall, came to Maryland from Virginia. His business interests may have induced him to cross the Potomac, or it may have been the charms of Elizabeth Rousby of Calvert County who became his second wife. Barnes' first wife was Mary King, by whom he had a daughter, Mary King Barnes, who married Thomson Mason (then of Choppawomsic, Virginia, and later of Raspberry Plains, Loudoun County), brother of George Mason of Gunston Hall, author of the Virginia Bill of Rights. Barnes also had two sons, John and Richard.[29]

The move to Maryland must have occurred about 1740, for by 1744 Barnes patented "America Felix Secundus," the tract on which Tudor Hall stands. This resurvey of 1,096 acres included, as has been noted, part of "St. Lawrence . . . alias Barton Obert and Dominick" or "Shepherd's Old Fields" held by Philip Lynes at the time of his death in 1709.[30] Barnes owned other

[27] *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 25, 113, 166, *passim*, XLII, 167 *ff.*

[28] Rent Roll, Charles and St. Mary's Co., # 1 and 2, f. 27, Land Office, Annapolis. Note says "Resurveyed into America Felix Secundus."

[29] Kate Mason Rowland, "The Maryland Delegates to the Albany Congress" in *Dixie, A Monthly Magazine,* II (1899), 286-299.

[30] Patents PT # 2, f. 246, Land Office, Annapolis. The original of this patent, preserved by members of the Key family, now hangs in the Memorial Room at Tudor

large estates in St. Mary's County — 1,490 acres in 1753 — including "Westbury Manor" with its 1,250 acres.

Barnes' public service began in 1745 when he was a delegate from St. Mary's County to the Lower House of the Assembly. For a number of years he was one of a quartet from that county, the others being Zachariah Bond, James Mills, and Philip Key — a group strongly favorable to the party of Lord Baltimore.[31] The legislative activities of this group were interrupted when, in June, 1749, the Committee on Elections of the Assembly declared that the St. Mary's delegation had not been legally elected. The report of this committee was accepted, and the delegation was sent home. The Committee followed up this action with a report criticizing use of "uncommon entertainments and great quantities of strong and spirituous liquors" to influence the electorate. Contending the practice would "tend to the destruction of the health, strength, peace and quiet, and highly contribute to the corruption of the morals of his Majesty's subjects," the Committee ended by saying they left the remedy for the Assembly to find.[32] However, the same delegation reappeared in the Assembly the next year, were seated, and continued to represent the County for many years.

In 1746 Barnes was appointed to recruit men in St. Mary's County to serve in the King's army fighting against the French in America. About this time he began to be called major, and later had the title of colonel. In 1754 he and Benjamin Tasker were sent as the Maryland delegates to the Albany Congress.[33]

Barnes the public servant was also Barnes the business man. In 1747 his property was chosen as the site of one of the public warehouses for shipping tobacco.[34] Evidently Leonardtown was growing in importance.

The spiritual needs of the townspeople also enlisted the active interest of Barnes. In 1745 he was one of the Commissioners to re-divide St. Mary's County into four parishes.[35] Later (1753) Barnes became a member of the first Vestry of St. Andrew's Parish; he was active in parish affairs throughout his life.[36]

Hall Memorial Library. Also, Debt Books for St. Mary's Co. for 1753, f. 42, Land Office, Annapolis.

[31] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, XLVI, *passim*.

[32] *Ibid.*, XLVI, 263, 282, 336, 377.

[33] *Ibid.*, XLIV, 3, 400, and *passim*; XLVI, *passim*; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879), I, 444.

[34] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 608. See also *ibid.*, XLII, 452, XLVI, 123.

[35] *Ibid.*, XLIV, 208.

[36] Copy, St. Andrews Vestry Proceedings, *passim*, Maryland Historical Society.

In spite of all these honors and apparent affluence, Barnes must have concluded that new business enterprises must be set up if he was to insure the financial security of his sons. Consequently he and a nephew by marriage, John Morton Jordon of Virginia, went into the shipping business with three ships operating in the James, York, and Potomac Rivers respectively to transport goods from Maryland and Virginia to England. Realizing no doubt that the English merchants who received colonial tobacco were very advantageously situated because they could set the price of tobacco and charge whatever they wished for the goods they exported to America, Barnes decided in 1760 to go to England, taking his sons to establish them there on the receiving end of his shipping business.[37]

At this time he advertised his Leonardtown property for rent for seven years. His advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette* mention among other properties " the subscribers dwelling-house, very advantageously situated for purchasing tobacco, etc.; a good garden, store-house, ware-house, with many useful out-houses and liberty of pasturage." [38]

Perhaps there were no takers, but in any case Barnes' son-in-law, John Thomson Mason, spent at least part of his time while Barnes was in England at " America Felix Secundus " (or Tudor Hall as we know it today). Advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette* announced that John Thomson Mason offered for sale at Barnes' plantation the ships *Brent* and *Upton*, wine, slaves, and salt. During this time Mason had slaves judged for their ages by the Vestry of St. Andrew's and acted as judge for the Leonardtown races.[39]

While in England Richard Barnes had his portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.[40] Here Col. Barnes and his sons met Lord Baltimore's secretary, Cecilius Calvert, and made such a good impression on him that Calvert wrote Governor Sharpe in May, 1763: " Here is a Col. Barnes, says he has been of the Assembly; thinks of returning. I should be glad to know his behaviour & disposition to us, 'tis here said, he is of good Circumstances, rich.

[37] Rowland, *op. cit.*, 289-292; Rowland: " Barnes-Morton " in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XVII (1908-1909),145.
[38] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 17, 31, Aug. 14, 21, 1760.
[39] *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, Sept. 10, 24, Oct. 22, 1761.
[40] Rowland, *Dixie*, *op. cit.*, 294.

Y^r opinion Ab^t his being Rec^r Gen^l will be Acceptable. . . ." [41] Governor Sharpe did not seem too impressed as he pointed out to Secretary Calvert that there were far too few jobs and far too many applicants.

Barnes' business plans in England did not materialize. By 1767 he was back at Tudor Hall.[42] No doubt disillusioned and frustrated by the restrictive policies of the British toward the Colonies, Barnes ceased to be a supporter of the Crown and of Lord Baltimore and became a member of the group of Americans seeking by economic pressure to get a better deal from the Mother Country. By 1774 Abraham Barnes had become chairman of the St. Mary's County Committee of Observation, the local group engaged in discovering and punishing by extra legal means those citizens who bought goods from England or Englishmen.[43]

By 1776 this group had assumed the powers of government for the County and in this capacity worked frantically to defend the County against invasion by the British fleet which lay in the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers. In this crisis a company of militia under Captain [Peter?] Mantz was sent from Frederick County to help repel the expected invasion. But these " foreigners " from Frederick were not popular in St. Mary's County. It is amusing to find Barnes pointing out that the fleet had gone and that the Frederick County militia are not longer needed while Captain

[41] *Archives of Maryland,* XXXI, 545 (May 2, 1763). On Feb. 29, 1764, Secretary Calvert wrote further: ". . . [neither Barnes] nor I have sought one another, we have meet by accident. he informed me his design was England, if he could establish his sons here. he express'd himself with the utmost regard & in the most obliging manner concern^g you Public and private very respectfully, & said a better Gov^r than you could not be to the Province. He has since inform'd me that his project for his sons Emolument here will not do, therefore thinks of his return to Maryland, where he has a good Setlement, & where he has had success with risque of Ruin. he's very fond of his two sons, I am not surprised at, they are of personage very engaging & well accomplish'd, Maryland Born, & the father has been a Representative in the Lo:House as an unprejudiced man. In the discourse I have observed him a person of good sense & his Character is so & men seak of him of strict Honour in all his Dealings & Knowing in commerce & well versed in figures; he is sober & well-spoken, appears not of a hasty Temper & has by Assiduity gained a fair substantial fortune. I can't help expressing his appearance & characteristicks is of a Person I believe well deserving, is polite & so are his sons. these Marks of him are substantials proved, & characterising him a Man of Trust, confidence & real Credit intirely suitable of acceptance, Especially in an Office & Employ these requisites center & points out & gives to his Lord^p a fair opportunity & prospect of him in the station of his being his Agent & Rec^r Gen^l & I shall recommend him unless you Do point more suitable & contradictory of what is assented of him. . . ." *Archives of Maryland,* XIV, 132-133.

[42] Rowland, *op. cit.,* 293-294.

[43] *Archives of Maryland,* XII, 100; LXII, 458.

Mantz complains of inadequate provisions and of the unhealthy water and climate. He would like permission to return to a more agreeable and healthy place, but, if that cannot be had, he is "willing to comply with your orders and die in the Cause." [44]

In the troubled war-time days Abraham Barnes died, and his will shows him to be a sadly disappointed father. The will sets forth that in 1764 the testator set up his son John in trade and merchandise; to the father's great surprise he finds that John has carelessly lost all he had given him and is more in debt than in the father's power to pay. Above all, John has "robbed me of my happiness and peace of mind at a time of life when I expected to be free from any disturbance or anxiety." This unhappy state of affairs is due to John's obstinacy in rejecting his father's advice and since John's debts are equal to half Abraham's estate, John is not to get anything further, but all the testator's estate is to go to his other son, Richard Barnes.[45]

Thus, in 1778, Richard Barnes fell heir to the vast estates (including Tudor Hall) and hundreds of Negro slaves formerly the property of his father, Abraham Barnes. He also stepped into his father's shoes as leader of the Revolutionary Party in St. Mary's County. Richard had won the latter place by his own efforts and had been sent in July, 1775, as a delegate from St. Mary's County to the Maryland Convention.[46] This group formed the "Association of the Freemen of Maryland" — men pledged to "unite and associate as one band" to oppose British tyranny by arms if necessary and to maintain good order by supporting the Revolutionary Government set up for Maryland. The Convention sent delegates to the First Continental Congress and then returned to their homes, but left a group known as the Council of Safety functioning in Annapolis, to carry on the cause of resistance to England by working through certain key men in each county.

Richard Barnes served as county lieutenant and was thus the key man for St. Mary's County. The varied and indispensable duties of the county lieutenant included collecting all the gold and silver coin, helping to erect beacons on the Potomac, trying to procure military supplies, and finding men for military service.[47]

[44] *Ibid.*, 184, 185.
[45] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JJ # 1, f. 39, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[46] *Archives of Maryland*, XI, 3, 67.
[47] *Ibid.*, XI, 132, 449; XII, 139; XVI, 24, 440; XLV, 24, 32, 538, 589.

Barnes had to perform near miracles without cash as the Council repeatedly announced that it had absolutely no funds. He served also as major, later colonel of the local militia.[48]

The British landed at several places in the County in 1781. " Six of the enemy ships have burnt Col. Barnes House on St. Mary's River and plundered him of all his property." Another account refers to British activities " after plundering Col. Richard Barnes of St. Mary's of all his property and burning all his houses."[49] It is believed that these statements did not refer to Tudor Hall.

Barnes was active as a public servant of his county and state until his death in 1804. Notably he was a member of the Maryland Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1788.[50] Three wills made by him were admitted to probate in St. Mary's County and in Washington County where he also had extensive land holdings and an estate " Montpelier " near Hagerstown.[51]

All of the wills gave freedom to Barnes' several hundred slaves. " I give all my poor slaves whose melancholy situation I have long deplored their freedom or liberty three years after my death." Those able to work were to be responsible for the support of the young, aged, and infirm. Each of these Negroes was to take the surname of Barnes " in remembrance of our past intercourse with each other." His property was not to be appraised; the household furniture in St. Mary's and Washington counties was to continue in each house for use of his executor when he might have occasion to be at either place.

Due to the peculiar circumstance of the three wills, the estate of Richard Barnes was left in an undetermined status. The necessity of untangling the confusion fell to Richard's executor, nephew and probable heir, John Thomson Mason, Jr. Mason was the son of Mary Barnes, sister of Richard, who had married John Thomson Mason of Virginia. Beside John Thomson, Jr., there were two other sons, Stevens Thomson Mason and Abraham Barnes Thomson Mason, and a daughter, Mrs. Ann Thomson Chichester.[52]

[48] *Ibid.*, XII, 43.
[49] *Ibid.*, XLV, 383.
[50] *Ibid.*, XXI, 265; XVI, 273. Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 546.
[51] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JJ # 3, f. 43 *ff.*; Washington Co. Wills B, f. 50-57, Hall of Records Annapolis.
[52] *Ibid.*

All except John Thomson Mason, Jr., lived in Loudoun County, Virginia, with their father. He came to Maryland and probably spent a large part of his time with his bachelor uncle, Richard Barnes. He was a lawyer and practised at one time in Georgetown where he had a house at Prospect and Fayette Streets.[53] He was the first United States Attorney for the District of Columbia but served only a few months.[54] About 1802 (or earlier) he moved to Washington County, Maryland, where he lived at "Montpelier" with his uncle John Barnes who had recovered from his financial difficulties. This property had been patented to Richard Barnes, Mason's uncle, on Oct. 17, 1791, and offered to Mason and his family the hope of recovery from the ill health which had overtaken him.[55]

Thomson Mason had a son, Abram, born January 14, 1798 — the occasion, no doubt, for Richard Barnes' second will. The child died July 22, 1801, necessitating a third will from Richard.[56] When Thomson Mason died in 1824, he left a widow, Elizabeth, and seven living children.[57]

One of the first tasks of Thomson Mason in the administration of Richard Barnes' will was the matter of freeing the slaves. Barnes had neglected to take note of a law passed in 1796 providing that no Negro was to be set free after the age of 45 years. No provision was made by the will for the slaves born after the death of Barnes but before the three years had expired at the end of which time they were to be set free. Most difficult of all, Mason could think of no way by which the provision could be carried out which specified that the able-bodied were to take care of the aged and young. He proposed a detailed plan which was accepted by the Orphans Court of St. Mary's County whereby 101 slaves were to be set free and take the name of Barnes. Those under 22 years of age were to be freed subsequently when they reached that age, and meanwhile the aged were to continue in the ownership of Mason, as well as those awaiting freedom.[58]

[53] District of Columbia Deeds, T # 19, f. 36, Recorder of Deeds Office, Washington, D. C.

[54] F. R. Noel, "Some Notable Suits in Early District Courts" in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 24 (1922), 68, 73.

[55] Patent, 1 C No. G, f. 86, Land Office, Annapolis.

[56] Helen W. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (New York, 1908), p. 263.

[57] Washington Co. Accounts 11, f. 172, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[58] St. Mary's Co. Orphan's Court Proceedings, Dec. 9, 1807, Court House, Leonardtown.

An ancient book entitled "Certificates of Freedom" is on file in the Orphans Court at Leonardtown. It lists 101 slaves by name, each with the surname of Barnes, and three named Abraham Barnes. Identifying characteristics were give for each — age, height, color, etc. — and for each, some such description as that given for Judy Barnes, age 26: "Black, has a remarkable thick upper lip; has several small scars on her right arm; has a scar on the front part of her left arm; has a scar on the front part of her right ankle; and otherwise not very notable." [59]

Thus the matter of Richard Barnes' slaves was settled to the satisfaction of the County Orphans Court. But what of the ambiguous and contradictory features of the three wills as to the disposition of the real estate?

Apparently Thomson Mason, eminent lawyer that he is reputed to have been, assumed that he held title to Richard's lands in fee simple. In 1816 he deeded to the children of his deceased brother, Abraham B. T. Mason, part of the estate lying in St. George's Hundred known as "Westbury Manor"; [60] and to the children of his brother, also deceased, Stevens Thomson Mason, "all the lands in Upper and Lower Newtown Hundred of which Richard Barnes died seized." The latter conveyance, a total of 1,958½ acres, included 893 acres of "America Felix Secundus" ("including the dwelling house and plantation of Richard Barnes") and lots and houses in Leonardtown. Excepted from the land conveyed was the "graveyard in the garden attached to the late dwelling house of Richard Barnes in his lifetime and where the said Richard Barnes, his father and mother, and the infant daughter of John T. Mason lie buried." [61]

Shortly after Tudor Hall became by deed the property of the heirs of Stevens Thomson Mason, one of them, Armistead T. Mason deeded his share to Philip Key for $5000.[62] This deed, dated Sept. 18, 1817, was soon followed on Feb. 2, 1818, by the deed for the same property from Philip Key to his son, Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key.[63]

In this manner Tudor Hall passed into the hands of the Key

[59] St. Mary's Co. Certificates of Freedom, Jan. 18, 1808, Court House, Leonardtown.
[60] Abstracts of Deeds, St. Mary's Co., TH 28, f. 177, Land Office, Annapolis.
[61] St. Mary's Co. Deeds A # 1, f. 115; also abstracts of deeds TH 28, f. 195.
[62] St. Mary's Deeds A # 1, f. 115, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[63] *Ibid.*

family to remain there for almost 150 years. Philip Key I, the progenitor of the family in Maryland, came to St. Mary's County about 1740, there to acquire estates and distinction, ending his life a member of His Lordship's Council. His various sons died soon after their father, among them Francis Key, grandfather of Francis Scott Key of "Star Spangled Banner" fame. Another son, Dr. John Key, left a boy, Philip, who remained in St. Mary's County to carry on the traditions of the family.[64]

No information is available as to where Philip spent his boyhood, since by his grandfather's will he was to be under the guardianship of his uncles rather than under the care of his mother and her second husband, Thomas Bond. It is said that he was sent to London in 1767 to study law and that he was presented at the Court of St. James's when he was 19 years old. Returning to America by 1770, he was allied with the patriot group although not very active. He served in the Maryland Assembly and from 1791 to 1793 was a member of the House of Representatives of the United States.[65] In 1808 he qualified as one of the Judges of the St. Mary's County Orphans Court.[66] He was twice married, first to Rebecca Jowles Sothoron (who was heiress of Zachariah Bond, owner of "Indian Town") and later to Sophia Hall of Harford County. He was the father of seventeen children, most of whom died young. Philip himself died in 1820.[67]

According to the recorded deeds, Philip's ownership of Tudor Hall was of brief duration. This is contrary to tradition which has it that Philip Key acquired Tudor Hall in 1796 when his family estate of "Bushwood Lodge" was destroyed by fire, and that it was he who remodeled the building into the form which it had until 1950. The deeds speak for themselves. The Tax Assessment Book for St. Mary's County in 1816 directs that "America Felix Secundus" (and other properties) be removed from Philip Key and assessed to Henry G. S. Key.[68] The probable explanation is that Philip Key lived in Tudor Hall as tenant for

[64] H. E. Hayden: *Virginia Genealogies* (Wilkes-Barre, 1891), p. 167. Christopher Johnson, "Key Family" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* V (1910), 194-200.

[65] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949* (1950), p. 1409.

[66] St. Mary's Co. Orphans Court Proceedings, Oct., 1808, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[67] Hayden, *loc. cit.*

[68] St. Mary's Co. "Old Tax Book" (1816), f. 32, Court House, Leonardtown.

an undetermined period. Its owner after 1804, John Thomson Mason, lived in Washington County and while some of his nephews or nieces might have occupied it, there is no record or tradition to show that they did. Regardless of when Philip Key lived there, he moved out before he died as in his will he lists his home place as "Gravelly Hills." [69]

In the light of these uncertainties, who spent a fortune remodeling Tudor Hall? Although Philip Key had many children and would have needed more room than the bachelor Richard Barnes, would he have improved a property to which he apparently did not have a clear title? It seems more likely that it was Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key, son of Philip, who remodeled Tudor Hall either in preparation for his marriage to Henrietta Tayloe, or else with the help of funds brought into the family by the marriage. Born in 1790, he was 25 years old when he courted and won the fair Henrietta of Mt. Airy, Virginia. They had nine children. By a later marriage to Maria Harris of "Ellenborough," near Leonardtown, there were several other children, including Joseph Harris Key.[70]

No sooner had Henry received Tudor Hall by deed from his father than he set out to secure deeds from all the Mason heirs.[71] Successful in this, he nevertheless had a set-back in 1830, due to the fact that by an Act of Assembly passed in December, 1828, Abraham Mason (son of John Thomson Mason, heir of Richard Barnes) had his name changed to Abraham Barnes. He then claimed title to all of Richard Barnes' estate on the theory that his father, John Thomson Mason, had only a life interest, and that by his change of name he had complied with the conditions of the will of Richard Barnes. However, the newly renamed Abraham Barnes then gave Henry Key a deed to secure his title held from the older Mason, but Key had to give a bond for $12,000 to secure payment of $7,000.[72] In spite of all this the investment probably paid off as Henry sold off a great many lots on which the town of Leonardtown is largely built.[73] Henry died possessed of a

[69] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JF # 1, f. 19 (1829) Court House, Leonardtown.

[70] Hayden, *loc cit.* See also letters from H. G. S. Key to Miss Henrietta H. Tayloe, Apr. 17, 1815, Aug. 25, 1815, in Henry G. S. Key Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[71] St. Mary's Deeds, A # 1, 115 *ff.*, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[72] St. Mary's Co. Land Records, JH # 8, f. 470-474, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[73] Index to Extracts of Deeds, St. Mary's Co., 1796-1873, *passim,* Hall of Records, Annapolis.

considerable estate in land, including, beside Tudor Hall, " Indian Town," " Hamburg " and " Jutland."

Henry was proud to call himself a farmer, but he had other interests. In 1817 he became a judge of the St. Mary's County Orphan's Court — a position practically hereditary in the Key family, it would seem.[74] His most important office was as member and subsequently chairman of the boundary commission for ascertaining the northeast boundary between Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.[75]

From Henry's will it is obvious that Tudor Hall was maintained by him in traditional fashion. In it he refers to his carriages and silver plate, his bookcase and library of books, periodicals, pamphlets, etc., and to various portraits including one of his father Philip Key, and portraits of himself and his first wife painted by John Beale Bordley. We have already noted the inventory of his estate from which we have gotten a glimpse of Tudor Hall as it was then. This member of the Key family had great respect for his ancestors as evidenced by the publication by him of his great-grandfather's will and the direction in his own will that he is to be buried " in my ancestral vault at Chaptico where rest the ashes of most of my family some to the fifth generation."

By this will, probated in 1872, he leaves his " Leonardtown Estate " or " Tudor Hall House " to the surviving children of his first wife — William Ogle Key of Alabama and Dr. Robert Morris Key of Texas — and to his granddaughter, Etta Smith, daughter of Dr. James Smith of Virginia and his deceased daughter, Nannie Ogle Smith. He expects his wife to leave " Indian Town " and " Hamburg " estates to her son and his, Joseph Harris Key.[76] Nevertheless it was the latter who bought out the heirs and acquired Tudor Hall where he resided until his death in 1917. Following in the steps of his ancestors, he was a lawyer, judge of the Orphans Court, member of the Maryland Legislature, and country squire. He was married three times — to Fanny Baltzell, Cora Beale, and Mattie Maddox — and had six children.[77]

Three of these children, Dr. Sothoron Key of Washington,

[74] St. Mary's Co. Orphan's Court Proceedings, 1807-1826, f. 130, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[75] Original Commission, Key Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[76] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JTMR # 1, f. 319-326, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[77] Information supplied by his son, Dr. Sothoron Key.

John Key, and Cora Key, inherited Tudor Hall from their father, Joseph Harris Key. None of them occupied it, however, so that following the death of Mrs. Mattie Key the house was sometimes rented, sometimes vacant. Finally in 1947 the Key heirs sold Tudor Hall to a real estate firm which intended to subdivide it into building sites; this plan threatened the survival of the house.

It was saved from demolition by Mrs. Mary Patterson Davidson, a newcomer to St. Mary's County who had moved there in 1931 when she and her husband, General Howard C. Davidson, U. S. A., purchased " Cremona," an old estate on the Patuxent River. Mrs. Davidson saw in the purchase of Tudor Hall an opportunity to save a fine old building and at the same time to assist the people of St. Mary's County in their ambition to have a public library. Later the idea took shape to make this project a memorial to the men from St. Mary's County who lost their lives in the two World Wars.

Thus it came about that Mrs. Davidson had Tudor Hall beautifully restored and remodeled to fulfill its function as a library, and then presented it to the St. Mary's County Memorial Library Association which will maintain it. What a wonderful solution for the preservation of an ancient land-mark, a solution that might well be copied elsewhere!

Thus the sturdy old mansion which in one form or another has looked out of one eye over Breton Bay and out of the other eye at Leonardtown Court House for three hundred years, is taking another deep breath and starting out on what it is hoped and expected may be another three hundred years of leadership and service in the community where it has long been an object of pride.

MORE ABOUT THE NICHOLITES

By KENNETH L. CARROLL

JOSEPH NICHOLS, the founder of the little band of " Friends " (which later came to be called Nicholites or " New Quakers "), did not live long enough to complete the organization of his Church. Many of the people who had flocked to hear him, after he felt called upon to appear among them as a minister, had been convinced by the fervency of his zeal; these persons very early embraced his views and conformed their lives to the principles he set forth. Nichols had sown his seed well, so that it grew and flourished.[1]

The Nicholites held their first Monthly Meeting in 1774—six years earlier than the date of organization proposed by Gummere.[2] On the 5th day of the 12th Month, 1774, a " meeting of friends " assembled to " Consider of Some Things Relating to the General Benefit of the Church of Christ." They agreed to hold their Monthly Meeting at the home of James Harris (here spelled Harriss) on the first and second day of the first week in every month. The first day was for the worship of God; on the second day they were " to Consider of Such Business as may Concern us, as Touching our Religious Society." [3]

This same assembly, in addition to setting up some form of organization for discipline, also concluded that " friends Should Carefully Collect their Marriage Certificates and bring them to the Said Meeting in order to have them Entered upon Record."

[1] See my article " Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland,"*Maryland Historcal Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 47-61, for an earlier discussion of this group and its founder. This article also contains a copy of the Nicholite birth records.

[2] See Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 554.

[3] This decision of the Nicholites to organize regularly is recorded in the front of the volume containing copies of their marriage certificates. This volume is now with the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends (Easton)—placed in the vault of the Talbot County Register of Wills for safe keeping.

The earliest marriage certificate recorded is dated the 21st of the 9th Month, 1766, and the latest took place on the 10th of the 12th Month, 1800.

The marriage ceremony of the Nicholites, like their meeting for worship, was apparently greatly influenced by the neighboring Friends or Quakers. The lack of contemporary records renders it impossible to measure the influence of the Quakers upon the conversion of Joseph Nichols, the " first preacher of this society and the chief instrument in founding it," and also upon the lines of organizational development followed by the Nicholites or " New Quakers " as they were sometimes called. Nevertheless, the form of silent worship, the testimony against war, oaths, and a stipendiary ministry, the pattern of the wedding ceremony, the monthly meetings for business, the name of *Friends* which they gave themselves, and the title " New Quakers " sometimes applied to them, all show that their debt to the Society of Friends must have been great. In addition, their custom of calling the days and months by numbers rather than by names was strictly of Quaker origin and practice.

The earliest certificate recorded, which reads as follows, is of twofold interest—first, it is typical of those which followed and secondly, it shows the likenesses to its Quaker counterpart:

These are to Certify all persons whom it may concern that Isaac Charles and Nancy Payne Both Single of Dorchester County [4] in maryland having first publickly made known their Intention of marriage and No Lawfull objection being made They the said Isaac Charles & Nancy Payne Did on the Twenty first day of the Ninth month one Thousand Seven Hundred Sixty Six in the presence of a publick congregation of people at the House of Solomon Charles in Dorchester County afforesaid publickly acknowledge their marriage Engagement Each to the other the man Taking the woman To be his Lawfull weded wife the woman taking the man to Be her Lawfull weded Husband In consequence of which the woman Hereafter assumes the Sir Name of the man in Testimony whereof we the Subscribers Being present have Hereunto Subscribed our Names.

In addition to being the earliest record marriage, this one also has the distinction of being the only witnessed by Joseph Nichols (here spelled Nicolls).

Until 1778 marriages appear to have been consummated in a

[4] It should be remembered that Caroline County, which was formed from parts of Dorchester and Queen Anne's, was not set up until 1773.

" public congregation of people " at the house of some Friend. From this period on they were mostly held at " Friends meeting-house in Caroline County." It is not until 1784 and 1785 that one finds mention by name of the three meeting-houses at Centre, Northwest Fork, and Tuckahoe Neck.[5]

The Nicholites bore a firm and unwavering testimony against a " hireling " ministry (William Dawson, one of the " pillars " of the group, was imprisoned for a time in Cambridge for this very reason). Thus, forbidden by their principles to acknowledge a man-made ministry, they could not " consistently consummate their marriages before a priest although required so to do " by the laws of Maryland.[6]

In addition to their uncompromising stand against a stipendiary ministry, the Nicholites also bore a steadfast testimony against profane and even judicial swearing. Thus the Nicholites petitioned the General Assembly of Maryland for permission to marry among themselves and for relief from the taking of oaths. In 1783, therefore, the following act " for the relief of the christian society of people called Nicholites, or New Quakers " was enacted:

WHEREAS the society of people called Nicolites, or New Quakers have, by their humble petition to this general assembly, set forth, that they labour under many great and grievous inconveniencies, owing to their conscientious scruples relative to the taking oaths in the usual form, and not being admitted to declare the truth of their knowledge by solemn affirmation: And whereas it is declared in the thirty-sixth section of the declaration of rights, that the manner of administering an oath to any person ought to be such as those of the religious persuasion, profession or denomination, of which such person is one, generally esteem the most effectual confirmation by the attestation of the Divine Being: Therefore,

Be it enacted, *by the general assembly of Maryland,* That the society of people called Nicholites, or New Quakers, shall be and they are hereby entitled to, and shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, immunities and franchises, that the people called Quakers are in any manner entitled to enjoy, under the declaration of rights, form of government, or any law or laws in force within this state, any law, custom or usage, to the contrary nothwithstanding.[7]

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[5] Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism; Being Extracts from the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Meetings Composing It, to which is Prefixed an Account of their First Establishment* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 419.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

[7] *Laws of Maryland Made Since M, DCC, LXIII, Consisting of Acts of Assembly Under the Proprietary Government* (Annapolis, 1787), Laws of 1783, Chapter 18.

Negroes, apparently without any discrimination, attended the meetings of the Nicholites. Tradition, on which Michener admits drawing heavily, furnishes the story of Joseph Nichols' taking off his coat and giving it to a poor slave who came to the meeting without one —thus literally fulfilling the biblical injunction, " He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that thath none." [8] Even more significant is the fact that Negroes were admitted to full membership in the society. Among the wedding certificates there is one which records the marriage of Isaac Linager and Rosannah. This Rosannah was " formerly held as a slave by Daniel Addams of Dorchester County in Maryland Dec[d] which the S[d] Addams Did in his Life Time Discharge the said Rosannah from her Slavery and bondage." [9] The names of their children are contained in the Nicholite birth records.

At their three meeting-houses—Centre, Northwest Fork, and Tuckahoe Neck—the Nicholites regularly met on first-days and in the middle of the week. Here it was

> their practice to sit down and wait in silence for the Divine principle to strengthen and direct their spirits,—without which they did not believe that any religious service could be performed, which would be acceptable to Him whom they professed to worship.[10]

The Nicholites, much after the manner of Friends, held meetings for discipline once a month. Michener feels that one Monthly Meeting was held up to 1784, when the two meeting-houses were built at Centre and Tuckahoe Neck, at which time Monthly Meetings were established in all three meetings.[11] It is possible that one Monthly Meeting existed for the whole group of Nicholites on the Eastern Shore—although it may have been held at the different meeting-houses according to some system of rotation. (This system of rotation was long followed by the neighboring Quakers in both the Cecil and Third Haven Monthly Meetings). If such were the case, all reference to other Monthly Meetings may refer to the Nicholites who migrated to North Carolina. The existing material is not sufficiently clear to determine this.

[8] Michener, *op. cit.*, p. 416.
[9] See marriage certificate number 6. The marriage and birth records of the Nicholites are now with the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends. No trace of the burial records has been found.
[10] Michener, *op. cit.*, p. 416.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

The Monthly Meetings of the Nicholites at this period usually lasted three days. First, on the morning of seventh-day, there was held a select meeting of ministers and elders. This was followed by a public meeting; and then, after that, the Nicholites conducted their business in a select meeting, with men and women sitting together. This was a departure from the custom of their Quaker neighbors who, at this time, had separate meetings for men and women. On first-day and second-day public meetings were held. It is reported that there were often " near one thousand people " in attendance at these meetings.[12]

Some time after their organization the Nicholites felt a need for some definite rules of discipline. The only copy located thus far, although it is quite possible that there may have been earlier lists, is found in the front of the book containing the marriage records. On the 1st of th 1st Month, 1793, " the following was Considered and Adopted for Rules Amongst us of the society of People called Nicholites or New Quakers: "

1. That all Marriage Certificates be Recorded—Births and deaths also.
2. Any member Joining in Marriage with one that is Not a member of our society do thereby forfeit their Right Amongst Friends or Allowing Such Marriage in their House do also Forfeit their Right amongst Friends.
3. Any Member Attending Such Marriage, shall be Called on to give a Reason for their Conduct in that Respect.
4. Any Member Intending to Marry Shall first Inform the Elders of the Meeting to which they Belong—an if No Objection then the same to be minuted that a necessary Enquiry may be made of the Clearness of the Parties from others—and Consent of Parents or any Other Necessary Enquiry may be made—and if Nothing to the Contrary Appear by the Next Monthly Meeting— the Parties to be Left to their Liberty to twice Publish their Intention—and if no Objection Come foreward they may Consumate their Marriage According to the good order practiced Amongst Friends.
5. Two or three friends of good Repute to be chosen as Overseers of each Monthly Meeting—and to Render an Account of their Service and Duties to the Said Meeting Whensoever Called thereto.
6. Those who Neglect to Attend Meeting for Worship and Discipline at the Hour Appointed—or fall Asleep—or frequently go in and out or Otherwise disturb the Meeting—Let them be Cautioned privately and then if Need be Reprove them publickly, and if they

[12] *Loc. cit.*

Cannot be Reclaimed by Christian Endeavours of their friends to be Disowned.

7. Any friend Moving from the Limits of our Meeting to Another they Shall procure a Certificate from the Meeting to Which they Belonged that they may be Received as they are.
8. When any friend of the Ministry purposes to Travel in That service—they Should First Acquaint the Monthly Meeting Where they Belong—in order for their Brotherly Advice from the Meeting.
9. The Members of the Meeting only Have a right to set in Meeting of Business—Except on Application and on Admittance by the Said Meeting.
10. Any friend having anything to Offer in Meetings of Business should stand up—the better to Preserve that good order of Speaking one at a time.
11. Any Person Holding a Slave is not to be Admitted to be a member.
12. No Member go to Law with a Member—Except Some urgent Necessity—Nor with others until first Endeavouring by Easy terms—Offering to have the same settled by others.

The scarcity of references to the Nicholites in the records of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends prior to 1797 is surprising.[13] On the 25th of the 3rd Month, 1784, John Regester expressed a concern to pay a " religious visit " to the Nicholites and received a copy of a minute to this effect from the Monthly Meeting.[14] It was evidently some time later that he made this trip, for the minute was not returned to the Monthly Meeting until the 29th of the 12th Month, 1785. On the 29th of the 10th Month, 1789, Mary Berry informed the Monthly Meeting of a prospect of " Some Religious service " to the Nicholites.[15] Rebeccah Bartlett, John Dickinson, and Solomon Charles expressed a " freedom " to accompany her. Their visit took place very soon after this, and Mary Berry and John Dickinson returned their copies of the minute to the next Monthly Meeting.

[13] At this time Third Haven Monthly Meeting was composed of the following preparative meetings: Bayside, Choptank, Tuckado, Third Haven, Marshy Creek, and Queen Anne's (which became the Greensborough Meeting in 1795).

[14] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for Business, III, 189.

[15] *Ibid.*, III, 264. This Mary Berry (1731-1806), an esteemed minister of the Society of Friends, travelled widely in " Religious service." In the 11th Month, 1792, she visited the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, after having visited the Virginia Yearly Meeting some short time before. In 1793 she, accompanied by Tristram Needles and Martha Yarnell, visited some of the Friends' Meetings on the Western Shore of Maryland and Virginia, most of the Meetings in North Carolina, and all the Meetings in South Carolina and Georgia. In 1795 she expressed a concern to go to the West Indies but, because of war conditions, was unable to make the journey.

Even before there began a recognized move on the part of the Nicholites to merge with the Society of Friends, some of the Nicholites, finding their discipline to be too straight, had gone over to the Quakers. Solomon Charles was accepted into membership on the 28th of the 11th Month, 1776.[16] His five children and his step-daughter were received as members on the 25th of the 3rd Month, 1779.[17] Levin Wright and his wife came "under the notice of friends in order to become members of our religious Society" on the 26th of the 5th Month, 1791, and were received as members on the 30th of the 6th Month, 1791.[18] In addition to these there were probably others who applied to Third Haven Monthly Meeting, through the representatives of Marshy Creek Meeting, for membership in the Religious Society of Friends.

At the Monthly Meeting held the 12th of the 10th Month, 1797, the representatives from Marshy Creek reported that "two of the people called Nicollites" attended their Meeting and presented them with a paper stating, "To the Members of Thirdhaven Monthly Meeting to be held the 25th day of the 10th M°, 1797. We the People called Nichollites herein present to your view and serious consideration the names of those that incline to unite with you in Membership."[19] This petition, signed by 106 adult members of the Nicholites, was "given forth from Center Monthly Meeting of the people called Nicollites held on the 30th day of the 9th Month, 1797," and signed by Seth Hill Evitts, Clerk.[20]

[16] *Ibid.*, III, 74.
[17] *Ibid.*, III, 105.
[18] *Ibid.*, III, 287.
[19] *Ibid.*, III, 368.
[20] The above application, which is recorded in the official minutes of Third Haven, was felt by Michener not to convey the wishes of the Nicholites too clearly. He, therefore, records the following, dated one month earlier, which he found on a loose sheet in one of the books: "Whereas, a part and perhaps the greater part, of the people in session, called Nicholites, have had a concern, at sundry times, to be united with the people called Quakers, believing it might be a benefit to us, and, we trust, no hurt to them, and perhaps more generally useful to others; and under this apprehension and prospect of good being done, we have believed it to be our duty to inform you of the desire we have to be one with you, truly united to the Head of the True Church, and one to another; so have proceeded to enrol the name of those who desire the unity proposed should be brought about. The next larger number is those that see not their way into the matter, but are not inclined to oppose it. We have also sent forward the names of those that have a birthright only who unite with the matter. Given forth from Centre Monthly Meeting, held the 5th of the eight month, 1797, and signed on behalf of the same, by Seth Hill Evitts, Clerk." Michener then describes the three lists mentioned above: "First, one of eighty names, 'all of which is agreed to the aforesaid proposal.' Next, one

Third Haven Monthly Meeting appointed a committee " to take Oportunity with them in a Collective capacity and treat the matter with them as way may open as to the grounds of their request and report of their situation and state of unaty in regard thereof to our next Monthly Meeting." [21] The committee on the application of the Nicholites reported on the 16th of the 11th Month, 1797, that,

> Many of them expresing in a tender manner their desire of becoming united with friends in a Society connection as Truth may open the way thereto, which Appears to be their prevailing Sentament, although some few have not given in to the proposal. We may further observe that most of them are Situated so remote from any of our meetings as renders the frequent attendance of them impractical, that they have three meeting houses where they meet together for religious Worship in the manner that friends do, in respect to their keeping up those meetings we did not see ocation to throw any discouragment before them. But are of the opinion it may be proper to represent the cause to the Quarterly meeting for their advice and assistance.[22]

The Monthly Meeting, on the 14th of the 12th Month, 1797, reported that the Quarterly Meeting felt it advisable to visit the Nicholites individually or by families " in order to feel after their growth & standing in the Truth." [23] A committee was appointed to carry out this task. On the 11th of the 1st Month, 1798, the committee felt " free " that 69 of the Nicholites might be received into membership. At this same time a small number of additional Nicholites also applied for membership. Within the next year and a half four other groups of Nicholites, ranging in size from three to thirteen, requested to be received into the Society of Friends.[24] During the next seven months an additional forty-nine were accepted. From this time onward, the records frequently note that various ones of the people who had come in from the Nicholites asked to have their children taken into the Society of Friends as members.

of twenty names, marked 'neuter'; and one of twelve names, marked 'nominal.' The first list is headed by James Harris." See Michner, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

[21] Third Haven Minutes, III, 368.

[22] *Ibid.*, IV, 1-2.

[23] *Ibid.*, IV, 3. In 1790 the Quakers on the Eastern Shore, belonging to the Cecil and Third Haven Monthly Meetings, were removed from under the Maryland Yearly Meeting and were united with Duck Creek and Motherkill Monthly Meetings in Delaware to form the Southern Quarterly Meeting under the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

[24] *Ibid.*, IV, 7, 8, 29, 37.

After this time there was evidently no mass move on the part of the remainder of the Nicholites to enter the Society of Friends in a body. In all probability those who wished to unite with the Quakers did it as individuals or in family units. Seth Hill Evitts, the clerk of Centre Monthly Meeting of Nicholites, who had drawn up the original petition in 1797, was not accepted into membership by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting until the 11th of the 11th Month, 1801.[25] Beachamp Stanton and Elijah Cromean both applied for membership on the 14th of the 11th Month, 1804, and were received as members in 1805.[26] Elizabeth Twiford, later a minister among Friends, and her husband, Jonathan Twiford, did not join the Society of Friends until the 10th of the 2nd Month, Month, 1819.[27] This was 13 years after the visit of Elisha Dawson (a former Nicholite and now a well-known minister who travelled widely in his religious work). Accompained by Hatfield Wright, William Gray, Edward Barton, and Dennis Kelley, all of whom had been Nicholites, he visited " divers of the remaining part of the society called Nicolites " early in 1806.[28]

How long the few remaining Nicholites continued to hold separate meetings for discipline is not certain. They continued to hold Monthly Meetings as late as the 31st of the 12th Month, 1803, when it was recorded by Elijah Cromean (Cromeen), Clerk, that the transaction of making over Center Meeting house to the Quakers had been completed (Northwest Fork Meeting house had

[25] Minutes of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting for Business, I, 24. These records are now kept in Easton with those of Third Haven Monthly Meeting. In the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting (IV, 11-12), on the 17th of the 5th Month, 1798, there is found " From Marshee Creek they inform us that the friends belonging to Center & Northwest Fork Meetings (Two Meetings of the people called Nicolites, *the members of whom being now nearly all united with friends*), request that Meetings for Worship may be established at each of those places and also preparative Meetings established." Four months later it is reported that the Quarterly Meeting concurred. A short time later it was felt that a separate Monthly Meeting for those Quakers in Caroline should be set up because of the distances they had to travel; and, therefore, on the 16th of the 7th Month, 1800, Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting came into being—composed of Northwest Fork, Center and Marshy Creek Meetings.

[26] *Ibid.*, I, 75, 82.

[27] *Ibid.*, I, 243. In addition to religious service within Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, Elizabeth Twiford travelled among the meetings of the Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana Yearly Meetings.

[28] *Ibid.*, I, 93, 96. Elisha Dawson made extensive journeys among Friends. Minutes in the records of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting and of the Southern Quarterly Meeting report travels to Ohio and Indiana, to New England, and even one trip to Europe.

been transferred on the 17th of the 8th Month, 1799).[29] Some few of the Nicholites continued worshipping with the Quakers until their death and never officially joined them. One elderly Quaker who died some years ago remembered that in his childhood, in the early 1860's, the last of the Nicholites worshipped with them in the old Neck Meeting House near Denton.

There was a migration of some of the Nicholites to North Carolina, but the time of their arrival there is uncertain. In all probability this occurred some time after the Revolution. They had a meeting-house at Deep River (in Guilford County) in 1789, when they were visited by Job Scott. Two other travelling Quakers who visited them were John Wigham in 1795 and Joshua Evans in 1797. In 1800 Stephen Grellet met some of them, but from that time on they disappear from the history of North Carolina. It is probable that the North Carolina branch followed the example of those in Maryland and joined themselves to Friends.[30] This view is to some degree strengthened by the case of Isaac Linagar (Linnegar), "a mixed coloured man," who requested membership in the Society of Friends at the June, 1798, session of the Deep River Monthly Meeting. This case was referred up through the New Garden Quarterly Meeting to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting which ruled that the *Discipline* was clear on this point. Thus, on the 1st of the 6th Month, 1801, Isaac Linagar was received into membership by the Deep River Monthly Meeting

[29] The making over of these two meeting-houses is recorded in the volume containing the birth records of the Nicholites. The new three volume work *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* edited by Charles B. Clark (New York, 1950) demonstrates here a critical weakness that is evident at many other points—dependence upon secondary works rather than upon primary sources. William N. Rairigh, in his chapter "A Narrative History of Caroline Country," writes, "When about 1817, the Nicholites merged with Third Haven Meeting they transferred their three meeting houses . . . to the monthly meeting" (II, 1102). This is merely a repetition of an earlier mistake found in Edward M. Noble (ed.), *History of Caroline County, Maryland: From Its Beginning* (Federalsburg, 1920), pp. 109, 114. Rairigh likewise repeats Noble's mistake in having the Nicholites locate in Caroline County in 1797—some twenty-three years after they organized and at the very time they were applying for membership in the Society of Friends!

[30] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, Extra Vol. XV (Baltimore, 1896), 110. Weeks quotes Evans' *Journal*, "I had two favored meetings among a people called Nicholites. . . . They appear to be plain, sober people, are reputed honest in their dealings and otherwise maintain a good character. . . . I observed that they had nine queries, which in substance were much like ours; these they read at times in their meetings. The last one was this: 'Are Friends careful to bear a steady testimony against slavery and oppression in all its different branches, endeavoring in everything to do others as we in like case would have others to to us?'"

of Friends.[31] Undoubtedly, this Isaac Linagar was one of the Nicholites who migrated from Maryland to North Carolina.

NICHOLITE MARRIAGE RECORDS

Thomas Willis and Siny Rickets, both of Dorchester, 7/10/1767.
Moses Leverton and Nancy Addams, both of Dorchester, 5/29/1768.
Daniel Sullavane and Marget Melvin, both of Dorchester, 1/28/1770.
Elijah Russel and Esther Cranor, both of Caroline, 1/26/1775.
Isaac Charles and Nancy Payne, both of Dorchester, 9/21/1766.
Isaac Linager and Rosannah, of Dorchester, 4/16/1769.
Ezekiel Goslin and Peggy Bartlett, both of Dorchester, 11/23/1766.
Noble Covey, of Caroline, and Mary Bickham, of Kent (Delaware), 4/3/1775.
Edward Beck and Arimanti Wilson, both of Kent (Maryland), 7/1/1770.
Levin Wright and Mary Rumbly, both of Dorchester, 7/11/1773.
Solomon Charles and Sarah Addams, both of Dorchester, 5/23/1773.
William Charles and Leah Bartlet, both of Dorchester, 5/13/1770.
Solomon Bartlet, of Caroline, and Mary Victor, of Dorchester, 12/10/1775.
John Bachelor, of Talbot, and Eleanor Addams, of Dorchester, 4/5/1769.
Thomas Stanton and Mary Carter, both of Caroline, 12/2/1776.
John Dawson and Anne Harriss, both of Caroline, 1/5/1778.
James Wright and Sarah Harriss, both of Caroline, 7/6/1778.
Isaac Charles, of Dorchester, and Sophia Rauly, of Caroline, 1/2/1779.
Richard Jenkins and Ann Kelly, both of Caroline, 1/2/1779.
James Wright and Sarah Wright, both of Caroline, 3/4/1780.
John Swigett and Mary Breeding, both of Caroline, 3/19/1780.
William Framtom, of Caroline, and Marget Goslin, of Dorchester, 11/3/1781.
James Barton and Mary Ann Jenkins, both of Caroline, 4/6/1782.
Dennis Kelley and Sarah Jenkins, both of Caroline, 4/5/1783.
William Williams and Delilah Berry, both of Caroline, 3/31/1784.
John Wright and Esther Harriss, both of Caroline, 11/6/1784.
James Harriss, son of William, and Celia Wright, both of Caroline, 11/20/1784.
Moses Leverton and Rachel Wright, both of Caroline, 1/15/1785.
Elisha Dawson and Lydia Harriss, both of Caroline, 11/5/1785.
Daniel Wright and Sarah Harriss, both of Caroline, 12/3/1785.
William Poits, of Sussex (Delaware), and Adah Berry, of Caroline, 2/4/1786.
Williss Charles, of Dorchester, and Sarah Wright, of Caroline, 1/14/1786.
Edward Barton and Ann Harriss, both of Caroline, 12/2/1786.
James Wright, son of Levin, and Ann Ward, both of Caroline, 2/3/1787.

[31] See Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," *Journal of Negro History*, XXX (April, 1936), 177. I am very grateful to Dr. Cadbury for calling this information to my attention.

Beachamp Stanton and Chloe Chilcutt, both of Caroline, 11/3/1787.
William Bachelor and Elizabeth Jones, both of Caroline, 8/16/1788.
Solomon Wilson, Sr., and Rachel Saffard, both of Caroline, 11/13/1788.
Hubert Framptom and Mary Vickars, both of Dorchester, 10/18/1788.
Jacob Wright and Rhoda Harriss, both of Caroline, 12/5/1789.
Thomas Cane, Sr., of Kent (Delaware), and Frances Smith, of Caroline, 6/12/1790.
Thomas Grey, of Dorchester, and Sarah Marine, of Caroline, 1/14/1786.
Hatfield Wright, of Caroline, and Euphama Charles, of Dorchester, 10/16/1790.
Jonathan Twiford, of Sussex (Delaware), and Elizabeth Murphey, of Dorchester, 12/2/1790.
William Anderson, of Kent (Delaware), and Ann Causey, of Caroline, 8/31/1791.
Richard Vickars, of Dorchester, and Celia Chilcutt, of Caroline, 9/8/1791.
Beachamp Stanton, of Caroline, and Deborah Murhpa, of Dorchester, 10/6/1791.
William Williss and Henney Chance, both of Caroline, 8/9/1792.
Owin Sullivâne and Ester Stanton, both of Caroline, 12/26/1792.
Henry Charles and Mary Wright, both of Caroline, 1/17/1793.
James Wilson, of Caroline, and Sarah Charles, of Dorchester, 11/28/1793.
John Harvey and Catherine Framptom, both of Caroline, 11/5/1794.
John Pool and Aney Wallis, both of Dorchester, 10/30/1768.
Edward Hubbert and Ann Wright, both of Caroline, 12/6/1793.
Dennis Kelley and Hannah Wilson, both of Caroline, 12/18/1794.
John Pritchett and Sarah Jenkins, both of Caroline, 12/2/1797.
Levin Pool and Elizabeth Emmerson, of Caroline, 1/18/1797.
Hatfield Wright and Lucrecia Lowe, both of Caroline, 10/13/1796.
Joshua Noble and Sarah Twiford, both of Sussex (Delaware), date omitted.
John Moriston and Catharine Harvy, both of Caroline, 9/15/1798.
Owen Sulavane and Elizabeth Fidamon, both of Caroline, 12/10/1800.

A FAMOUS MARYLAND PRIZE FIGHT[1]

By PAUL MAGRIEL

IN ancient Greece boxing had been a classic sport. With a developing brultality, boxing had declined in popularity. After slumbering for centuries, it found a sort of revival in England. By the middle of the 19th century it was again in a decline—so much so that the Duke of Wellington publicly lamented the trend. The Duke's lament was at about the time when Tom Hyer whipped Yankee (James) Sullivan in an arranged fight near Baltimore.[2]

The fight took place in February, 1849. The time marked what doubtless was the lowest estate of prize-fighting in the United States. The lure of contest between boxing gladiators was immense then, as before and since; but popular opinion looked unfavorably on arranged matches. The law supported this opinion. To arrange a fight dictated a furtive approach, for the sheriff or even the governor, in any State, would seek to thwart the arrangements.

Withal, prize-fighting went on. Gangdom ruled the sport, if it then deserved being characterized as a sport. Indeed, Yankee Sullivan himself belonged to the then nortorious Five Points Gang. Its members took their name from the headquarters of their operations, a neighborhood contiguous to New York's Chinatown. Yankee Sullivan had good credentials for connection with the Five Points gang. He had been deported from his native Ireland to a penal colony in Australia after being convicted of murder. He escaped, got to New York, and found a haven with the Five Points gang.

Tom Hyer had no such crime record. He was merely the victim

[1] This article is based principally on a volume, published anonymously, entitled, *Life and Battles of Yankee Sullivan* (Philadelphia, 1854). Except as otherwise indicated, quotations are from this volume.

[2] The Baltimore *Sun* took notice of the proposed fight in an editorial in the February 5, 1849, issue. While carefully refraining from any seeming approbation of the affair, the *Sun* carried at least one lengthy news story or an editorial in each issue published through February 10.

of his milieu. He grew in the then low circles of the prize ring atmosphere. His father, Jacob Hyer, had been a fight champion in 1816.

If a researcher a century ago had been making an inquiry into conditions attending prizefights, and had asked who participates, the answer, generally speaking, would have been: Bums. Where do they deal? The answer would have been: The barroom. Who acts for them? The answer would have been: Hangers-on. There were no promoters in the modern sense of that word. Such money as was to be made came from wagers. It was a case of the winner taking all.

A curious quality attending all prizefight publicity was the punctilio of public declarations. No hint of low barroom practice or brawling lack of nicety was evident in a public notice. Thus, on June 1, 1848, Yankee Sullivan caused to be published in the New York *Herald* this advertisement:

About six weeks since, while in the saloon on the corner of Park Place and Broadway, in a condition rendering me unable to defend myself against any attack, I was assailed in a most cowardly manner by a man of the name of Hyer. On the strength of it, accounts of the occurrence appeared in a number of newspapers, false in every particular, and which must have been inserted by Hyer himself or his friends. If I had been worsted in a fair fight, and by a person who knew anything about fighting, or had the courage to fight like a man, I should have taken no notice of it; but I consider it due to my friends to inform them in this way of the real character of the occurrence. I am no " Irish braggart " or " billy " although I am an Irishman, and believe I can show myself worthy of my country whenever I am required. If there are any who think they can make me " cry enough," like a whipped child, if 9 Chatham Street is not too far out of the way, I will be happy to have them make the call and the experiment. As for Hyer, I can " flax him out " without any exertion.

Tom Hyer was not a fellow to take such a challenge in silence. In the *Herald* he replied immediately:

Yesterday morning it was falsely stated in one of the advertisements of the N. Y. Herald, signed James Sullivan, that I had assailed him in an unjustifiable manner, and at a disadvantage, about six weeks ago in a saloon at the corner of Park Place and Broadway.

I wish merely to state that this fellow Sullivan assaulted me, and that I chastised him for it, as I can and shall do again on similar provocation by him or anyone else who improperly assaults me. I have only to add that Mr. Sullivan will find me always much readier to meet him anywhere than in the newspapers. Anywhere, however, I am his master.

These newspaper notices doubtless satisfied the curious sense of honor motivating pugilists a century ago. The air was cleared, conditions made right, foundation laid. Not many weeks were to elapse before a formal agreement would be drawn up as a frame for " a fair stand-up fight " as the forthcoming agreement would state.

Though pugilists of the 1850 period had their officers in their hats, and held their pourparlers at the saloon bar, they were sensitive to public opinion. They always spoke for the record. That was why Sullivan and Hyer resorted to the paid newspaper notices in the *Herald*. That was why they drew up written memoranda of their mutual intentions, and why, after a fight, a formal report was always rendered. To whom? That did not particularly matter; the objective was to have the report in writing.

The articles of agreement for the fight between Yankee Sullivan and Tom Hyer are dated August 7, 1848, approximately two months after their newspaper exchange. The prose of the document indicates that at the very least a barroom lawyer had a hand in its composition. The principals delimited their enmity by agreeing to be bound by the rule of Fistania, a written code that in this same year of 1848 aimed to mark a gentlemanly approach to fisticuffs. Sullivan and Hyer each obligated himself to furnish his respective umpire a copy of the Fistania code.

Much of the document was devoted to the dates, places of deposit, and manner of subscribing the side bet of $5,000. Provision was made to adjust the amount. It was subsequently increased to $10,000.

An indication to the 1848 status of prize-fighting was the vagueness of locating the battle. It was to be " within the states of Virginia, Maryland, or some other place. . . ." A more pointed indication was illuminated as follows:

> In case of magisterial interference or other interruption . . . which the umpires shall deem fair cause for adjourning the fight, the referee or stakeholder shall name the place and time for the next meeting of the parties to decide or terminate the fight. . . . [And again:] . . . No information shall be given to any person whereby the authorities may interfere to stop the fight.

The principals did not sign the Articles of Agreement. The document was only initialed by persons identified as representing the principals.

The agreement called for the fight to be held within six months from August 7. This provision was met exactly. The fight was held on February 7, 1849, about 40 miles from Baltimore.

Hyer triumphed over Yankee Sullivan, but that fact was a mere detail in their encounter. There were alarums, stratagems, a chase, escape—indeed all the thrills of a "whodunit." The story of this outdoor championship boxing match, held on a bitter cold February day on Maryland's Eastern Shore,[3] in a hastily improvised outdoor arena with snow blanketing the countryside, was painstakingly set down for the record, its truth attested by the fight's judges. To the document was appended their certification: "We hereby certify that we have seen the above rounds in manuscript as prepared for publication, and believe they present as full, correct, and impartial report of the fight, as could be made under the circumstances." Unlike the men who acted for Hyer and Sullivan in acknowledging the Articles of Agreement six months earlier, the judges, H. Colten and J. J. Wray, signed their names instead of merely initialing a document.

The author (name unknown) of the published manuscript went to a good deal of effort in relating the story of the preliminaries to the fight, before he came to recording the fight itself round by round. Who could blame him? He had a good story to tell.

The fight had been arranged to take place at Pooles Island,[4] in the upper part of Chesapeake Bay. It was a lonely, almost uninhabited spot, holding only a lighthouse and two other structures. It seemed advantageous; no local objection to prize-fighting was likely to arise there. Maryland authorities had determined, however, to prevent the fight. The six months buildup seemed to force them to action. Voices of virtue were loud. They swelled to a roar. Two days before the fight Governor Philip F. Thomas called out the soldiery.

The fight officials, gambling fraternity, and plain everyday fight followers had gathered in Baltimore intending to proceed by boat to Pooles Island. Each fighter's supporters had engaged a separate vessel. State officialdom served writs against the steamboat captains, preventing them from transporting the fight fans. Then

[3] Specifically, the fight took place on Rocky Point, Kent County, some six or seven miles southwest of Betterton. See J. T. Scharf: *Chronicles of Baltimore* (1874), pp. 528-529.

[4] In Harford County. Contemporary accounts call it Pool Island.

the State took over one of the ships, put soldiers aboard it, and gave orders to cruise the Chesapeake, and capture the prospective battlers, who already were at Pooles Island. Some of the more forthright fans, their ships immured, hired two oyster smacks. About 100 fans were aboard each smack, and they ventured forth to find their fun by sail.

The writer of the preamble to the round-by-round record had a nice appreciation of the drama connected with the battle he was recounting. He subdivided his account, giving each section an appropriate title. Thus we read of "The Descent of the Police," "Hyer's Escape," "Sullivan's Escape," "The Embarkation," "The Debarkation." The last sub-title referred to the disembarking of all concerned from their ships of passage. To quote the author of this 100-year-old document:

> It was . . . settled that Hyer's boat should take the lead, and all hands being rather wolfish by their various disappointments, agreed to drop upon the first convenient spot, whether it was Maryland, or Delaware, or Virginia, or hell. At half-past one o'clock they espied four or five small oyster smacks, and judging it to be a proper place, the crowd, to the number of some 200, debarked.

Sullivan tramped three-quarters of a mile to the nearest house. Hyer rode in a straw bottomed cart. They and their followers were secure from pursuit, for the soldiery were aboard one of the commandeered steamships, and it was grounded off Pooles Island.

Volunteers went to a nearby pine woods to cut stakes for the ring. The top gallant halyards of one of the sailing transports provided the ropes. The snow was swept from the fighting place. At ten minutes past four word was sent to Hyer and Sulivan that all was in readiness. Ten minutes later they were facing each other to begin Round 1.

Champions of their day did not carry the bulk of their modern prototypes. Hyer stood 6 feet 2½ inches, but weighed only 185 pounds. He towered over Sullivan, a mere 5 feet 10½ inches, and weighing 30 pounds less.[5]

Sullivan never had a chance. The author of the document describing the fight makes this fact clear in his round by round summary. His locutions would puzzle some of today's sport writers:

[5] A lithograph, "The Great Fight between Tom Hyer and Yankee Sullivan," by James Baillie, is reproduced in Marshall Davidson: *Life in America* (New York, 1951), II, 33. It shows the improvised ring, Hyer and Sullivan, and persistent spectators.

". . . He received a heavy punishment in the shape of a tremendous right-hand paixhan on the left eye." This could be from the Scot word "Paik" meaning a beating. Or this: "He let go with his dexter mawley." That must have meant a right-hand crusher.

Description was not lacking. For example:

> The hit in the eye, which Hyer received in the second round, now showed its colors, and puffed up with dirty pride and vanity over the surrounding flesh. . . . Sullivan's left eye . . . bore testimonials in crimson crevices of Hyer's black and long knuckles. [Again:] Both men came up bloody to the scratch, Sullivan being literally clotted with gore, while the clear crimson smoked on Hyer's chest. . . .

A word used over and over again is "limpsey," its purpose being to indicate insecurity when erect: "He was limpsey with weakness."

Under the Fistania rules, unlike the later Marquis of Queensberry rules, wrestling was a part of the boxer's technique. Sullivan had counted on his skill in wrestling as a stand-off to Hyer's superior strength. It did not avail him. In the very first round he tried to bring Hyer down and crush him, but failed. The anonymous reporter of the fight tells in the century-old document wherein Sullivan failed:

> . . . Sullivan rushed in at the body . . . and clinched his antagonist with the underhold, and struggled for the throw. This was the great point on which was to depend the result of the fight. Sullivan relied mainly for success upon his superior wrestling, and it was calculated by his friends and backers that a few of his favorite cross-buttocks would break his antagonist in his lithe and graceful waist. . . . The most terrible anxiety therefore existed. . . . The spectators, who stood in an outer ring of plank laid over the snow some feet distant from the ropes . . . rushed forward and swarmed upon the ropes. Two or three times did Sullivan knot his muscles with an almost superhuman effort, but all served only to postpone his overthrow, for when he had spent his power by these terrible impusions, his iron adversary wrenched him to the ground with the upper hold, and fell heavily, prone upon his body. . . .

That was in Round 1, and the fight was as good as decided then and there. But it went for 16 rounds until Sullivan was unable to continue. He was not knocked out, but altogether played out. Of the final round, the chronicler wrote:

> When time was called Sullivan was slow in rising . . . and it was evident that his fighting star had set, for the day at least. He walked in a limpsey manner toward the score, but when he put up his left arm the tremor which

shook it showed that it was distressed by pain. Hyer did not wait for him, but advancing beyond the score, let fly both right and left in Sullivan's face, who though he could not return it, took it without wincing. . . . Hyer then rushed him to the ropes . . . threw him and fell heavily upon him. . . . When he was taken off Sullivan was found to be entirely exhaused, and when lifted up reeled half around and staggered backward towards the ropes. The fight was done. He could not come back again, and one of his seconds took him from the ring without waiting for time to be called. Hyer's seconds . . . advanced to take Sullivan's colors as a trophy, but being interfered with by Ling (a Sullivan second) Hyer rushed forward himself, and seizing Ling, enabled his friend to take the prize. The shouts then went up for the victor, and the party commenced unthreading the stakes of their halyards for the journey back.

The fight's chronicler concludes his account by telling how the boats got up sail and made for Pooles Island. There still were the soldiers aboard their grounded steamer. The fight fans cheered them " as compensation . . . for neither arresting the principals nor getting a peep at the fight."

Two days later the New York *Tribune* carried a story of the fight. By then Hyer was being lionized in Philadelphia. Sullivan was in a Baltimore hospital, in bad shape. The stranded steamer had been freed and was back in Baltimore. One of Sullivan's trainers and one of Hyer's seconds, both of whom had been arrested when they pretended to be Sullivan and Hyer, respectively, and thus insured the fighter's escape from pursuers before the battle, were in jail, waiting to be bailed out.

There have been outdoor prizefights since the Hyer-Sullivan set-to but never another fought on snow-covered ground in a hastily made ring marked by fresh cut pine stakes secured and erected by spectators. Nowadays crowds make more of the ring-drama than the contestants. Then one had to be a hardy fellow even to be present at a fight. The whole scheme of arrangements was like a script for a movie of cops and robbers, but with " no foolin'." The Hyer and Sullivan fight was no exception; it was typical of boxing matches of its period. No " respectable " folk had anything to do with fighting, fighters, or the fandom fringe of encouragement for what they represented.

Hyer did not go from strength to strength. He did what many of his ilk did in fight circles of a century ago: He drank himself to death. Sullivan was not remade by defeat. He removed far from Five Points, but the remove was wholly geographical. His end came when he was hanged in California by the Vigilantes.

THE PRESIDENT READS A NEW BIOGRAPHY: 1851

PRESIDENTS are always busy men. Such was the implied but patient complaint of President Millard Fillmore one hundred years ago when he wrote to John Pendleton Kennedy, one of Maryland's most important men of letters. Kennedy had written on March 17 to ask the President to accept a copy of his book, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt, Attorney General of the United States.*[1] Busy though he was, the President "stole" time to read several passages from the volumes and to reply two and a half weeks later (April 2). He included an illuminating paragraph in which he recalled the influence of a Wirt speech and two of Wirt's books and acknowledged his support of Wirt in the presidential campaign of 1832.

Fillmore [2] and Kennedy [3] served together as Whigs in the House of Representatives in the years 1838-1839 and 1814-1843. Years later when William A. Graham of North Carolina resigned as Secretary of the Navy (1852), the President invited Kennedy to accept that cabinet post. The most notable event of Kennedy's

[1] Published in Philadelphia in two volumes in 1849. Probably a copy of the revised edition of 1850 was sent.

[2] Of humble origins Fillmore (1800-1874) was admitted to the bar in New York State, served in the legislature before he was 30, and was in Congress in the years 1833-1835 and 1837-1843. He unsuccessfully sought the governorship in 1844 and was serving as State Comptroller when elected Vice President in 1848. On the death of Zachary Taylor in July, 1850, he became Chief Executive. He also served as Chancellor of the University of Buffalo and as President of the Buffalo Historical Society. See *Dictionary of American Biography,* VI, 380-382, and W. E. Griffis: *Millard Fillmore,* (Ithaca, 1915).

[3] With little taste for the law, Kennedy (1795-1870) devoted much of his time to literary endeavors. In addition to his *Wirt,* he published *Swallow Barn* (Philadelphia, 1832), *Rob of the Bowl* (Philadelphia, 1838), *Quodlibet* (Philadephia, 1840), and other works. He befriended Edgar Allen Poe and assisted Samuel F. B. Morse. He served in the House of Representatives in the years 1838-1839 and 1841-1845. Kennedy was first president of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute. See *Dictionary of American Biography,* X, 333-334; H. T. Tuckerman: *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871); and V. L. Parrington: *Main Currents in American Thought,* (New York, 1927-1930), II, 46-56.

Secretaryship was the authorization of Commodore M. G. Perry's expedition to Japan. After the Fillmore administration left office, Kennedy accompanied the ex-President on an extensive trip through the South.

As many of the Fillmore Papers were deliberately destroyed,[4] the existence of a holograph Fillmore letter is of more than ordinary significance. The Fillmore document is part of the Kennedy Collection in the Maryland Historical Society. Kennedy's letter was located in a letter press copy book for the years 1849-1851 (pp. 513-515) in the Kennedy Papers in the Peabody Institute Library.[5] The two letters are reproduced on the following pages.

Baltimore March 17. 1851

My dear Mr President

Allow me, in presenting to your acceptance these Memoirs of the life of William Wirt, to gratify a very earnest regard and admiration inspired by many pleasant memories of the past, and still more by your eminent public service in your present exalted station.

I take the more pleasure in submitting these volumes to your judgment, from a conviction that no one is better able than your self to appreciate the narrative of a life which has so signally illustrated the sucess that follows in the train of virtuous endeavor aided by high talent and directed by an ardent love of country. It is a proud characteristic of our history that its annals are enriched by such examples.

I beg you to receive this work as the grateful remembrance of a comrade in that happy and glorious Twenty Seventh Congress,[6] which was no less distinguished for its service to the nation than for the occasions it furnished to many and enduring friendships.

With the best wishes of the continued prosperity of your administration, and for your personal welfare, I am

my dear Mr President
very truly
Your Friend
J. P. Kennedy

To Millard Fillmore
President of the U. S.

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[4] See Buford Rowland: "The Papers of the Presidents" in *The American Archivist*, XIII (July, 1950), 201-202. Most of the surviving papers are in the Buffalo Historical Society. See also Frank H. Severance (ed.): "Millard Fillmore Papers" in *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, X, XI (1907).

[5] Thanks are returned to Mr. Lloyd Griffin of the Peabody staff who located the letter and to Mr. Lloyd A. Brown, Librarian, who, on behalf of the Institute, granted permission to print the letter.

[6] John Quincy Adams, James A. Pearce, A. H. H. Stuart (Fillmore's Secretary of the Interior, 1850-1853), and Rufus Choate were among their colleagues in the House of Representatives in the Twenty Seventh Congress (1841-1843). The membership of the Senate then included Henry Clay, Franklin Pierce, Levi Woodbury, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun, and W. C. Rives.

Hon. John P. Kennedy Washington, April 2. 1851.

My Dear Sir,

Your kind note accompanied by a splendid copy of your "*Life of Wirt*" came to hand on the 20th. ult. and I feel a pang of remorse at my apparent neglect in acknowledging so acceptable a favor. But the truth is, I have been exceedingly busy. The adjournment of Congress, seems thus far, only to have added to my labors and perplexities; and I was exceeding anxious to steal an hour to glance at the contents of your book before expressing my obligation for your kind remembrance. I have made several attempts, but at each time I became so interested and read so long that I had no time left to write. I have torn myself again from its enchanting pages, simply to say that I return you a thousand thanks for the pleasure I have enjoyed in the perusal.

Mr. Wirt was my candidate for President in 1832.[7] When quite young I had read his *British Spy*[8] and Life of Patrick Henry,[9] and his speech in defence of Blennerhassett.[10] These had impressed my youthful mind with a deep veneration for the man; and when I came into Congress in the fall of 1833, my *curiosity was on tiptoe* to see this idol of my imagination. Fortunately he was in attendance on the supreme court the ensuing winter, and I not only had the pleasure of making his acquaintance, but he did me the honor to move my admission as attorney & counsellor of that court. His personal appearance and conversational powers fully met my expectations, but I have always regretted that I never enjoyed the pleasure of witnessing his forensic powers in argument.

But you must pardon this digression & permit me again to repeat my sincere thanks for the Book, and my profoundest acknowledgments for the kind manner in which you were pleased to speak of my administration.

I have a very vivid and very pleasant recollection of Mrs Kennedy[11]—perhaps more than I ought to admit to her esteemed husband—and if she recollects me, I beg that you will do me the honor to present to her my kindest regards.

I write in haste without time to copy, which must be my apology for this imperfect note.

I have the honor to be
My Dear Sir,
Your sincere friend
Millard Fillmore

[Endorsed:] April 1851
Millard Fillmore
President U. S.

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[7] Wirt was a candidate on the Anti-Mason ticket and ran third to Andrew Jackson, Democrat, and Henry Clay, Whig.

[8] *The Letters of the British Spy* (Richmond, 1803).

[9] *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia, 1817).

[10] See Kennedy's *Wirt*, I, 193-195.

[11] The second Mrs. Kennedy was the former Elizabeth Gray (1808-1879), of Ellicott Mills. They were married in 1829.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Amiable Baltimoreans. By FRANCIS F. BEIRNE. New York: Dutton, 1951. 400 pp. $5.

Everyone has always known that it takes a Greek to catch a Greek. Latterly, a proper Bostonian has mercilessly revealed the peculiarities of his fellow citizens. Baltimoreans may — conversely — be well pleased that Francis F. Beirne, a Virginian, and therefore an admirer of Baltimore, has drawn upon memories of many happy years here to write a truly delightful, albeit somewhat flattering, history of the city and its inhabitants.

The Virginians who came to Baltimore between 1865 and the end of the century left behind them a war-torn state and a wrecked economy. They undoubtedly looked upon Baltimore as the business metropolis of the South. In fact they founded great enterprises and took commanding places in every aspect of the city's life. They are entitled to eternal thanks for bringing about the political reform concerning which previously much had been spoken, but little done. As they prospered increasingly, Virginia rang with admiration of the city where the sorrows of the war had been gloriously overcome by these energetic emigrants. Still, their coming to that city was, to a large degree at the outset, *ex necessitate.*

Quite different was Mr. Beirne's arrival. As the son of a distinguished and successful Richmond editor, he first attended the Gilman School. Later he took his bachelor's degree at the University of Virginia, and afterwards enjoyed a refresher course in cultivated urbanity at Oxford. Only then, in full intellectual maturity, and with the whole world to choose from, did he deliberately conclude that Baltimore should be his home. *The Amiable Baltimoreans* convincingly proves that he has never regretted his choice.

The chapters on the city's beginnings readably summarize many ponderous volumes of earlier and less sprightly historians. But the principal contribution of the book is the informal descriptions of more recent happenings. Here the author records affairs known to him personally. These, as interpreted by him, and with strict omission of anything unpleasant, arouse his most fervent enthusiasm for the city of his adoption.

The chapter on the important topic of local gourmandizing accurately gives the economic reasons and local habits—including specific examples of historic over-eating—that led to Baltimore's erstwhile great fame as the gastronomic capital of the Union. The unhappy decline of the last generation is equally well set forth. It fails to overcome the author's faith in

Baltimore, propped up by hopes of long range conservation measures and interim picturesqueness in the numerically increasing restaurants that serve at least semi-edible food.

The two figures most conspicuous among the amiable of the city are Betsy Patterson and her latter day sister-in-arms, Wallis Warfield. Their royal marriages and the scarcely less spectacular conquests of the Caton sisters reveal the impact of amiability in its most extreme form upon dynastic and global happenings. The chapters of families prominent only on this side of the Atlantic preserve many merry quips and charming anecdotes. These also show the character of Baltimoreans in the most pleasant light, in contrast with earlier years' murderous mob and gang fights, glossed over as youthful indiscretions of the fast growing city of the 19th century.

A French authority has defined the polite as those who make others feel pleased with themselves. Under this definition, *The Amiable Baltimoreans* will never be surpassed as a monument of literary politeness. It will be read with studious care by those who strive to understand Baltimore. It will captivate all who love the ancient city and its ways.

DOUGLAS GORDON

Boundary Monuments on the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries. By WILLIAM H. BAYLIFF. Annapolis: Maryland Board of Natural Resources, 1951. 100 pp. $.25.

Mr. Bayliff, Executive Secretary of the Board of Natural Resources, has gone all the way back in this pamphlet. The Maryland Charter, the Pennsylvania Charter, and the ensuing boundary disputes between the Penns and Lord Baltimore form an introduction to the problem which presently concerns both politicians and students of history, to say nothing of the gamewardens. This is the condition of the stones which are supposed to mark the Maryland-Pennsylvania and Maryland-Delaware boundaries. Much has happened to them since the resurvey of 1900-1903. Natural processes and accidents as well as progress— in the form of roads and reservoirs and so on—have combined to eliminate or deface many stones, and the collector's instinct has done the rest of the damage. For some of these stones are not only antiques but storied ones, the same monuments set up by the "scientific gentlemen," Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, in the 1760's. If you have a part of the authentic Mason and Dixon Line you can always be on the side of it you prefer. Other collectors found the stones useful, too, as chimney-pieces or steps; but all this has been hard on the Maryland boundary line.

Following in the steps of the original surveyors and those who resurveyed in 1849-1850, in 1885, and in 1900-1903, Mr. Gwynn Reel and Dr. A. L. Trussel have examined, photographed, and described all the monuments on, respectively, the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-

Delaware boundaries. Doctor Trussell organized this part of the material and Mrs. William H. Bayliff, the author's wife, did the not inconsiderable historical research which introduces and illuminates this detailed report. The result seems excellently presented and carefully prepared.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Consolidated of Baltimore, 1816-1950. A History of Consolidated Gas Electric Light and Power Company of Baltimore. By THOMSON KING. Baltimore: 1950. vi, 335 pp.

This volume contains a well rounded and delightfully presented account of the "Consolidated of Baltimore" from the creation of its earliest ancestors down to the present day. The author, in his preface, states that his primary aim is "to create a readable account of the origin, development and life" of the company. In this respect, as well as others, he has distinctly succeeded. The book clearly surpasses most similar histories of existing companies in steadily holding the attention and interest of the average reader, despite the complexities of available material. This is particularly true as to history of the present company, and its components, up to the period of the First World War. Later developments, while of more business-wise importance, are still too well known to be clothed in any romantic aura.

One of the reassuring features of the story is that the author has not apparently avoided bringing out various facts which it was natural, from time to time, for company management to prefer to be neglected or forgotten. One of these (there are other types) is the giving of proper credit to Benjamin Henfrey whose successful demonstration, in 1802, of illuminating gas in Baltimore was the first of its kind in the New World. This Baltimore "first" was buried for countless years by the prominence given to the somewhat similar demonstration of the famed Rembrandt Peale, in 1816. Few have previously realized that while Rembrandt Peale and his associates formed the first American gas light company in 1816 (a "first" of major importance) the use of gas for lighting had been actually demonstrated here, by Henfrey, fourteen years earlier.

One of the chief reasons why the Consolidated story is so interesting is that the author consistently hangs it on the framework of contemporary history. For instance, he describes what Baltimore was in 1816, (as well as in later years), and gives many sketches of the founders of the company, their successors and also their competitors.

In regard to more recent history, the author does not always give a correct impression of certain details. However, the Consolidated's "Power Pictorial" (to which he gives highly deserved praise) and the monthly reports of the Industrial Bureau of the Baltimore Association of Commerce (June 1919 to date) will furnish the future historian with a wealth of data

concerning individual companies. These and other minor criticisms, even if outlined, would be immaterial compared to the sound value of this able presentation of the life story of one of America's outstanding public service corporations.

Many well chosen and highly interesting illustrations are included in this volume. The frontispiece represents the Consolidated's "family tree" from earliest times. It not only clarifies some of the text but shows on one page the large number of Baltimore or nearby Baltimore utilities which have played some part, at some time, in the creation of the present company.

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

The West of Alfred Jacob Miller. By MARVIN ROSS. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1951. 456 pp. $10.

This handsome volume of two hundred plates is a satisfactory work from many angles. It supplies the artist's annotations for each painting reproduced and an account of the artist's life by Marvin C. Ross, Curator of Medieval and Subsequent Decorative Arts at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which institution owns the paintings themselves.

Mr. Ross's foreword on Miller is brief, but he places the Baltimorean with others of the period in the European studios and this happily shows that the skill evident in the works is not the product of a "native self-taught genius." The foreword errs perhaps on the side of understatement and compression; the bibliography on American 19th century watercolors is not large and a few paragraphs on these, as compared to the English and European, would be welcome, as would a more detailed critique of the artist's technique. I think Miller would stand up as a more than competent recorder and as an artist of no mean ability. But so unusual a fault in an author is to be commended—at the moment most "old artists," when rediscovered and published, suffer from over-enthusiastic "puffs." Mr. Ross views the work of an American artist with a sense of proportion, a welcome sign for ultimate evaluation.

The greater part of the text of this quarto consists of the artist's descriptions, comments and "apt literary quotations" (surely they must have been so called in his day) on the scene reproduced on the opposite page. These readable paragraphs serve as guides to the subject material and pleasantly reflect the mind and personality of the painter. They also serve as a truly painless introduction to North American ethnology, natural history, folkways, and frontier psychology. Preceding generations were brought up on the Catlin and Audubon volumes; today's public possibly will find these pages as entrancing as those, now, alas, vanished into rare book rooms.

Long before Miller's day, or the day of the candid camera, artists (topographical and scientific draftsman) were included among the members of exploring expeditions, to do the work of today's reporter. Mr. Ross cites

Delacroix's visit to Algiers with Morny, Raffer's to the Caucasus with Demidoff and Bodmer's to Missouri with Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied in 1833. Long before this in America had appeared Master White with Raleigh's colony at Roanoke and LeMoyne with the French in Carolina. Miller's value to Captain Stewart, whose expedition he accompanied, was similar to theirs to their employers. Miller well fulfilled the faith his patron put in his powers. Mr. Ross' foreword mentions notebooks and on-the-spot sketches; the only distressing facet of this work is the omission of these drawings and paintings to contrast and compare with the finished studio versions. Had any been reproduced it would have been possible to evaluate the additions suggested by time, taste, or memory in the replicas.

The publication of the paintings, with the text, which Mr. Ross projected and sponsored, proves the prophecy of Vigne who, in 1833, predicted fame for Miller and said he would be "an ornament to his native city," Baltimore.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Portraits in Delaware 1700-1850. A Check List Compiled by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Delaware. Wilmington, 1951. 176 pp. $4.

This ambitious undertaking by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Delaware is in the form of a check list of early American portraiture currently owned in that state. It brings to the forefront an amazing number of significant works and indicates the importance of the second smallest state in colonial days. There are 295 portraits listed in the publication, and 36 of them are reproduced in black and white. Following the text and illustrations a section is devoted to notes on the artists whose paintings are included.

Notable among the works listed are Joseph Badger's portrait of his son "Benjamin Badger"; Benjamin West's unfinished sketch of "John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens and William Temple Franklin"; a "Self-Portrait" by John Singleton Copley; "Lafayette" by Charles Willson Peale; Rembrandt Peale's "Benjamin Henry Latrobe"; "George Washington at the Battle of Princeton" by James Peale; and "Henry Clay" by Matthew Harris Jouett.

Some other artists of importance in the history of American portraiture, whose works are among those represented in the "Diamond State," are Jean Baptiste Greuze, John Wollaston, Gilbert Stuart, James and Ralph Earl, Mather Brown, St. Mémin, John Vanderlyn, Thomas Sully, and John Neagle.

Of particular interest to Marylanders is the abundance of portraits by artists working in this locale which have found their way north and east across the border into Delaware. To be seen there are works by Gustavus Hesselius, who settled in Annapolis and painted likenesses of many Mary-

land families; Charles Wesley Jarvis, a miniature and portrait painter in Baltimore; Joshua Johnston, the Baltimorean who became the first known American Negro painter; Alfred Jacob Miller, Baltimore's painter of the west; and Rembrandt Peale, Robert Edge Pine, Andrew John Henry Way, and Matthew Wilson.

Also worthy of note is the fact that not only have Maryland artists and its prominent families contributed generously to the collection of *Portraits in Delaware 1700-1850*, but the handlists of the Maryland Historical Society compiled by Anna Wells Rutledge acted as an inspiration and guide for this publication.

BENNARD B. PERLMAN

The Johns Hopkins University.

A Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820, including Painters and Engravers. By H. GLENN BROWN and MAUDE O. BROWN. New York: New York Public Library, 1950. 129 pp. $2.50.

This useful tool is another in the slowly growing series—which hitherto included only New York (1633-1820) and Boston (1800-1825)—of comprehensive directories of the book arts and book trade in early America. It is time that Philadelphia, during most of this period the largest and culturally the most important city in this country, should be added to the list. The comprehensiveness of the present work is shown by the fact that it includes not only the expected booksellers, printers, and engravers, but also such ancillary and peripheral trades as typefounding, inkselling, parchment making, and auctioneering; the authors have tried not to omit "any who might conceivably be sought here." Their material they painstakingly assembled from what they call "the scarce . . . and disintegrating sets of Philadelphia directories," from Philadelphia newspapers of the period, and from many other sources. The end-product of their labors is a valuable aid to scholars interested in the development of the book trade in this country and to bibliographers in search of imprint information.

ROGER PATTRELL BRISTOL

Peabody Institute Library.

The Ropemakers of Plymouth. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950. vi, 177 pp. $3.

This little book by the distinguished naval historian and author of *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* presents the story of the Plymouth Cordage Company, a corporation now thoroughly identified with all the tradition and background generally associated with New England industry. Mr. Morison has done more than give his readers a bare business history,

however, because the Plymouth Cordage Company in its career typifies the whole procession of American life and its development from the early industrial revolution and emergence from handicraft to modern machine methods. In 1824 the manufacturing processes were crude and largely performed by hand. The clipper ship had not yet been dreamt of nor had railroads and oil wells and all the rest of what makes modern life. The company was almost exclusively dependent on the vast number of sailing vessels of all sizes and types which were being built in the neighboring towns on Massachusetts Bay. As the business grew we see the company reaching out to New Bedford and its whalers, and to Maine, and even as far as to New York.

Mr. Morison traces the company's progress through the various cycles of business history of the 19th century: the Clipper Ship era just prior to the Civil War, and war itself, the railroads, the Pennsylvania oil fields, and how the directors weathered the several storms which beset the company's course—panics, depressions, cut-throat competition, trusts, and finally, in more recent times, labor difficulties. All were withstood and through it all one can sense the deep feeling for integrity and maintenance of quality which were adhered to through thick and thin.

From a little firm employing only 50 hands in 1825 and turning out only about 750,000 pounds of cordage per year, to the present, when over 1,000 are employed and the output is something like a million and a half pounds per week, it has come a long way, and Mr. Morison covers the subject very thoroughly.

The readers who are especially interested in ships will find in this book, in the text and in the appendix, a vast amount of valuable information. There is also an appendix devoted to useful knots and how to tie them—well illustrated with drawings.

EDWARD S. CLARK

Under Sail and in Port in the Glorious 1850's. Journal of Charlotte A. Page. Edited by ALVIN P. JOHNSON. Salem: Peabody Museum, 1950. 79 pp. $4.50.

Pleasantly presented is this diary of a fifteen year old girl, kept from May 1 to October 3, 1852, during a voyage aboard the sailing ship " George Washington," from New York to Mobile, to Liverpool, and back to New York. The 79-page book includes excerpts from a diary and letters written by her brother, Alvin R. Page, Junior, during a later voyage.

Unfortunately, the student of the sailing ship days will get little out of it. One wishes Miss Page had shown more interest in physical life for a girl aboard ship, the cabin arrangements and meals, for instance, than her somewhat repetitious routine of sewing, walking, and piano playing. Aside from an occasional touch of seasickness and brief descriptions of new places, her activities and observations must have been pretty much what they were on shore.

WILLIAM B. CRANE

A National Program for the Publication of the Papers of American Leaders. By the NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS COMMISSION. Washington: The Commission, 1951. x, 47 pp.

J. Franklin Jameson, one of the most distinguished of Herbert Adams' students at Johns Hopkins, urged the establishment of a functioning publications commission for many years. When an independent commission could not be had, he accepted one in 1934 as part of the National Archives. For whatever reasons, the Commission remained dormant until last year when President Truman accepted a copy of the first volume of Julian Boyd's *Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* The President asked the Commission (whose distinguished membership now includes Richard H. Shryock of Johns Hopkins) what could be done to publish the papers of other great Americans. This preliminary report is the Commission's tentative answer.

The Commission will not itself edit and publish papers but will lend its aid and encouragement and try to serve as catalyst for the publishing organizations. For example, it proposes that several Pennsylvania societies might join in publishing the Franklin Papers. The list of men and women whose papers are suggested for publication includes Jane Addams, Louis Agassiz, Francis Asbury, Henry Barnard, Charles Bulfinch, Joseph Henry, and Joseph Pulitzer as well as better known public officials. The four Marylanders represented are Archbishop John Carroll, B. H. Latrobe, Roger B. Taney, and W. H. Welch. It is to be hoped that the Maryland Historical Society at a proper time can do its full share in this work. This report, to which full justice cannot be done on a brief notice, is a landmark worth the attention of every person seriously interested in the history of America.

F. S.

Liberty and Property. By R. V. COLEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1951. xiii, 606 pp. $5.

Several years ago in *The First Frontier,* Mr. Coleman related the story of the North American settlement to the 1660's. In the present volume he carries the story forward another century. His publishers have called the result "The Story of the Fabulous Century in which the United States was Born: 1664-1765." Historians of the colonial period will agree that this century is both fascinating and important; yet many of them will greet Mr. Coleman's *Liberty and Property* with searching criticism of its limitations, little enthusiasm for its merits, and insufficient attention to the author's purpose—to write an interesting narrative history for the general reader.

In the course of many years with Scribner's, Mr. Coleman has had a large share in the production of such standard historical reference works as the *Dictionary of American History,* the *Atlas of American History,* and the *Dictionary of American Biography.* With this kind of publishing experience, Mr. Coleman shows an appreciation of the essential geographic

unity of colonial history; and he takes full advantage of the many colorful personalities of the period. He skillfully uses even unimportant persons to give life to important facts. The Frenchman Jean Couture, for example, was a member of Tonti's 1686 expedition in search of LaSalle (pp. 129, 134); later Couture led a party of English traders from Charleston, [South] Carolina, to the Cherokee territory across the Appalachians (p. 294). These two episodes in the life of an obscure French fur trader and woodsman help to point out both the alternative lines of approach to the lower Mississippi Valley and the struggle for the trade of that region.

Were this an interpretative or analytical work intended for the student of colonial history, *Liberty and Property* could be subjected to serious criticism on several grounds. Colonialists will find in it little that is new or that has not been stated more accurately and fully elsewhere. The general reader, however, will enjoy a narrative full of life and color.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

Princeton University.

The People's General, The Personal Story of Lafayette. By DAVID LOTH. New York: Scribner's, 1951. vi, 346 pp. $3.50.

Lafayette's love for America was reciprocated during and long after his lifetime. He maintained a close friendship with such diverse figures as Hamilton and Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, and James Monroe. Lafayette was, indeed, a combination of aristocrat and revolutionist. It was George Washington, however, whom Lafayette placed first in his heart, for Washington was a father to Lafayette as well as to his country.

As the sub-title implies, Mr. Loth has made no pretense of writing a definitive scholarly account of Lafayette. It is, instead, a "personal story"—dramatic and flowing, at once interpretive and objective. Two revolutions pass rapidly in review. We see Lafayette's first engagement on the Brandywine; a fleeting glimpse of Valley Forge; the abortive attempt to invade Canada; the startling climax at Yorktown when "The World Turned Upside Down."

The French Revolution and its aftermath receive the same quick-moving treatment: the fall of the Bastille, the march on Versailles, the flight of the royal family, the intrigues of the *emigrés*. Through it all moves the figure of Lafayette, attempting to solve the eternal problem of reconciling liberty and order.

There are glaring omissions, e. g., Lafayette's interest and aid in the negotiations between England and America in 1813-1814 are not mentioned. Despite this, Mr. Loth has written a highly entertaining account of one of America's most popular figures.

MORTON BORDEN

The City College, New York.

Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. By C. VANN WOODWARD. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. x, 262 pp. $4.

Professor Woodward has finally dug out the true story of the final chapter in Southern redemption from reconstruction. He proves conclusively that it was not achieved by the Wormley Conference, as usually represented, but by a long series of negotiations, political and economic, which preceded and was entirely independent of it. He has finally relegated that conference to its proper place as an appendix—an unnecessary one at that, for agreement between the Hayes forces and Southern Democrats had already been attained.

His research has unearthed the truth in the only places where it could be found—in the letters exchanged between the various principals to the "bargain"—the Hayes, Dodge, Blair, Garfield Papers, etc., and in the newspapers of the time.

In the first place, the author recognizes the arrangement between Hayes and the Southern leaders for what it was—the fourth of our great historical compromises. He has with a masterly hand drawn together the various threads that made compromise possible: the political elements, which were handled by President Hayes's personal friends, together with the help of A. J. Kellar, editor of the Memphis *Avalanche*, who commanded the confidence of Southerners, available because of his earlier Union proclivities and friendship with Hayes's closest personal friend; the economic elements, manifested chiefly in the Southern hunger for Federal subsidies for internal improvements; and the numerous other issues causing ill-feeling between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic Party.

The author has shown considerable imagination, as well as intimate knowledge of the history of the time, in his choice of striking chapter titles: "The Rejuvenation of Whiggery," "The *Quid Pro Quo*," "Apotheosis of Carpetbaggery," to quote but a few. The final chapter traces the results of this effort at reconciliation between the sections, showing how the compromise was violated in letter and spirit by both sides, how the proposed coalition of Hayes's followers with the old Southern Whigs failed when a tide of agrarian radicalism swept the upland Southerners into the arms of the agrarian West. He points out, however, that the compromise has remained "inviolate" as a foundation for peace between the sections on the race question.

This brilliant analysis of a complex subject in small compass will probably stand as the definite work on this subject and should by virtue of its lucid style find a wide reading public.

ELLA LONN

Miracle at Kitty Hawk: The Letters of Wilbur and Orville Wright. Edited by FRED C. KELLY. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Young, 1951. ix, 482 pp. $6.

Fred C. Kelly, the authorized biographer of the Wright brothers, has now culled from their voluminous letter-files a first hand account of the trials and tribulations that went into the development, recognition, and acceptance of human flight. The editor, aiming this book at the general reader, has eliminated much material of a highly technical nature, as well as correspondence pertaining to legal and routine business matters.

What emerges from these letters is the tale of two gifted young bachelors who through study, observation, experimentation, and imagination completely solved the problem of human flight on December 17, 1903. Then came the even more difficult problem of getting the flying machine accepted. Naturally, the Wright brothers wanted their own government to have first claim upon their invention. However, as Wilbur wrote in 1906, "the answers of the [War] department officials were so insulting in tone as to preclude any further advances on our part." After a series of rebuffs they entered into negotiations first with European governments and then with foreign corporations. Only after receiving widespread recognition abroad did the United States Government realize the potentialities of the Wright brothers airplane. While Wilbur was in Europe in 1908 demonstrating the use of the machine, Orville through a series of brilliant flights at Fort Myer, Virginia, finally convinced the military of its importance. In 1909 Wilbur resided for a while in College Park, Maryland, the site of the first military air center, in order to teach army personnel how to fly.

Strange to say both brothers first considered their invention an instrument of peace. They felt that the airplane could play an important role in preventing wars, because it would enable each participant to know what his opponent was doing and thereby make it more difficult for either to gain a decided advantage. Commercial use of the airplane, they thought, would be possible only in the distant future. After Wilbur's death in 1912 and with the first World War, Orville became converted to the idea of victory through air-power. He wrote in 1917, "to end the war quickly and cheaply, the supremacy in the air must be so complete as to entirely blind the enemy;" the ramifications of this statement are still being debated at the present time.

Furthermore, through the pages of this book the reader is introduced to Octave Chanute and his important role in the history of aviation, especially his encouragement of the two brothers; he is made aware of the dispute with Smithsonian Institution which until 1942 did not recognize the Wright brothers plane as the first machine capable of making a sustained flight, and which until 1948 did not house it. In short, through this interesting volume of letters, the editor has presented a virtual autobiography of Wilbur and Orville Wright.

RICHARD LOWITT

University of Maryland.

George Foster Peabody: Banker, Philanthropist, Publicist. By LOUISE WARE. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1951. x, 279 pp. $4.

George Foster Peabody, a native of Georgia, successfully invaded New York and became a very successful, although uncelebrated, investment banker. A partner in Spencer Trask and Company, Peabody had investments in western and Mexican railroads, Mexican mines, the new and very profitable electrical industry, and the sugar beet industry. Twenty-five years on Wall Street netted Peabody a personal fortune estimated variously at from three million to forty million dollars, and Peabody retired from active business in 1906 to devote the rest of his life to giving away his fortune for a variety of worthy causes and to playing Democratic politics.

One of Peabody's primary interests was improvement in the quality and availability of education. His poverty as a youth had forced Peabody to leave school when he was fourteen, and he gave much of his fortune so that other youths would not have to do the same. He was one of the founders of the General Education Board and an important contributor to several colleges and universities, north and south, Negro and white. He was a trustee of the University of Georgia, Skidmore College, Colorado College, and Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. Peabody also gave considerable sums to churches and the YMCA.

For a man who professed advocacy of a number of progressive causes—government ownership of railroads and public utilities, the single tax, pacifism, and anti-imperialism—his record in the Democrat party was most conservative. He was a Gold Democrat in 1896, and he was national party treasurer in 1904, when both major parties were under fire for accepting large contributions from business interests. He warmly supported Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, but he also backed such conservative Democrats as William McAdoo and John W. Davis.

There was a great deal that was inconsistent in George Foster Peabody, and Miss Ware does not explain fully enough these paradoxes. He was a heavy investor in railroads and public utilities, but he advocated federal ownership in this field. He had many investments in Mexican mining properties, but he was opposed to imperialism. He worked tirelessly for increased opportunities for the Negro, but he distributed reprints of a poem entitled, *Rise, Mighty Anglo-Saxons.* He urged such radical measures as the nationalization of railroads and public utilities, but he championed a reactionary national sales tax. And he accepted the position of national treasurer of the Democrat party, when its presidential candidate was Alton B. Parker and its national chairman was Thomas Taggart, in order "to keep 'plutocratic tendencies' from increasing in government." The reader reasonably expects explanations of these inconsistencies, but the author seldom enlightens him.

Miss Ware has obviously done an impressive amount of research in preparation for this book, but her product does not do justice to the effort she has made.

DAVID A. SHANNON

Teachers College, Columbia University.

Plain Folk of the Old South. By FRANK L. OWSLEY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1949. xi, 235 pp. $3.50.

This volume is a study of the middle class whites in the Old South based upon tax lists, and the census reports of 1850 and 1860. Owsley, who delivered most of the materials in this book as lectures at the Louisiana State University in 1948, calls these people "the plain folk" because they were to a great extent the core of Southern social structure. From the ranks of this group which was largely rural in its thoughts, traditions, and legends came the large landowners and a substantial proportion of those in the learned professions. Consequently, a more comprehensive study was thought necessary to restore the middle class whites to their proper place of importance in Southern life.

Owsley destroys the stereotyped conception of the South which was built up by Frederick Law Olmsted and those who emulated his writings. A large middle class did exist in the South, insists Owsley. He further breaks down the myth that all of the Southern population belonged either to the aristocracy or to the poor white groups. Southern society was definitely one of great complexity for Owsley proves his point through the study of numerous county records, census reports, and tax lists which he has examined by a sampling method to obtain a truer picture of the social and economic life of the Old South.

These "plain folk" were an important element in the Old South. Owsley has examined their religious practices, amusements, economy, and political role. He takes a favorable view of their literacy rate. At the same time, he points out that migration and settlement followed a pattern similar to those employed in making the original settlements. This profoundly affected the social and economic outlook of the middle class and created a close knit family group as well as a more significant role for them in the political life of the Old South.

Owsley's volume is a significant contribution to the better understanding of Southern history. No longer can historians adhere to the myth of the lack of the existence of a large and important middle class in the Old South. He has failed to destroy the fact that slavery and the plantation system completely dominated the area. Nevertheless, this volume minimizes the influence of the magnolia blossom tradition. It is also possible that later historians may determine Owsley's sampling technique to be in error. This would appear somewhat doubtful because of the thoroughness with which he has assembled his facts. He has, moreover, performed a great service in exhuming the "plain folk" from oblivion and restoring them to their rightful place in Southern history.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Cracker Parties. By HORACE MONTGOMERY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. viii, 278 pp. $4.

Accepting the thesis that the Civil War was an " irrepressible conflict," the author states that the purpose of this valuable and fine study is " to show how Georgia's party structure reflected the growing mood of finality." The account covers the period from the Compromise of 1850 to the outbreak of the War. The conversion in Georgia from the " Jacksonian dogma to the credo of John C. Calhoun " is the major theme. Howell Cobb's importance in this period is deliberately emphasized by Montgomery, and the emphasis seems well placed.

Georgia has more than produced her share of politicians and many statesmen. The 1850s provided these leaders with unusual opportunities as national, sectional, and state issues of importance came to the fore and were met. Such men as Howell Cobb, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, H. V. Johnson, and others do not often happen along at any given time. This was a period when Georgians, accustomed to the two-party system, found themselves confronted with a great variety of political organizations and factions. There were such groups as Scott Whigs (Scotties), Supplementals, TERTIUM QUIDS, and Tugaloes. Nevertheless, the author asserts with authority that the central theme of Georgia's history during the period was the growing power of the Democratic party. The ascendancy of the latter, however, was delayed until after the original Democratic and Whig parties had been supplanted in Georgia by the Constitutional Union and Southern Rights parties and their " splinters," and until after the decline of the Know-Nothings (known in Georgia as " Sam "). The multiplicity of issues and the abundance of candidates confused even intelligent voters.

The study is based upon newspapers which have been handled well. But one does wonder how some of the Georgian editors in the smaller towns could be so knowing and dogmatic about national and regional as well as state affairs. Rather heavy reliance upon some of these editors might be questioned for one suspects a lack of depth and acumen in some cases. In fairness, it should be stated that Montgomery was fully aware of this. These editors often appeared too involved in the national slavery controversy to concentrate properly on local politics. Without the local perspective, they often seemed unable to place the national picture in its proper setting. The election of Joseph E. Brown as governor in 1857 ended the subordination of the state political organization to national party interests.

Cracker Parties evolved from a doctoral dissertation which is usually not an inducement to the general reader and often a deterrent to the professional historian not especially interested in the subject. In this instance, however, the emphasis, re-emphasis, frequent repetition, and some overlapping which one finds are helpful in finding one's way through a maze of parties, factions, candidates, and issues. Montgomery, by and large,

has done a splendid job; his synthesis clears up much of the confusion attending a normal study of this period.

CHARLES B. CLARK

Washington College.

South Carolina Goes to War 1860-1865. By CHARLES CAUTHEN. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1950. vii, 256 pp. $1.25.

The political history of South Carolina is so closely interrelated with the history of the nation between 1860 and 1865 that it is frequently impossible to separate the two. The study of the Democratic convention at Charleston, the secession movement, the diplomacy to secure control of the forts in Charleston harbor, and the attack on Fort Sumter all played an important part in the history of those years. The relationship between South Carolina and the nation had quite obviously been studied thoroughly heretofore. No volume had been previously published which dealt with the South Carolina side of the story, however. Cauthen's book considers that angle to present a comprehensive treatment of the political history of South Carolina during the Civil War. His book proves even more conclusively that States' rights did cause the collapse of the Confederacy, even though South Carolinians supported the Davis administration, believe in the principles of the Confederacy, and play an outstanding part in the disruption of the Union.

Cauthen has done a good job in the preparation of this volume. It is heavily and thoroughly documented, and his bibliography is extensive. However, several minor typographical errors have crept in. One of them is the consistent misspelling of the name of Kenneth M. Stampp. It is to be regretted that the author did not include more materials of a social and economic nature. Nevertheless, the book is of value as an extremely well-written state history which deals with the Civil War period. It is to be hoped that some day some one will treat Maryland as comprehensively as Mr. Cauthen has South Carolina.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Richmond In World War II. By FRANCIS E. LUTZ. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951. xv, 623 pp. $7.50.

Richmond in World War II presents an overall picture of life in an American city from September 1939 through 1946. Organized chronologically and written informally, chiefly from newspaper sources, the book records both the important and the unimportant actions of Richmonders on the theory that "the unimportant often is the best barometer of what was on the minds of a people at a given time." The author covers his field by noting briefly with little comment the pleasant and unpleasant phases of social life, economic and financial problems, political leanings

and editorial opinions, business and industrial developments, and municipal growth. Appended to the text is a roster of Richmonders who died in the war and another of those who received decorations. A supplement presents additional rosters of the National Guard, State Guard and Minute Men, as well as information relative to the wartime functioning of the Red Cross, the U. S. O., Selective Service, and the Office of Civilian Defense. Aside from presenting a readable and informative account of the war years in Richmond, the book serves as an excellent preliminary reference for students who may wish to delve further into details.

H. R. MANAKEE

Indian Place-Names in Delaware. By A. R. DUNLAP and C. A. WESLAGER. Wilmington: Archaeological Society of Delaware, 1950. xvi, 61 pp. $1.

This monograph on Indian place-names in Delaware is all that we should expect from such highly competent authors. We wish only that these busy men had time to compile a work on the Indian place-names of Maryland. Mr. Weslager's tribute to his deceased friend, the distinguished anthropologist, Dr. Frank G. Speck, is beautifully written, and even those who have never heard of Dr. Speck will find it worth reading.

With the utmost pains the authors have examined old documents relating to Delaware for Indian place-names, thus laying a basis for a work which is a valuable contribution to Delaware archaeology. In their interpretation of the meaning of these Indian place-names, which may be classified as those still in use in Delaware and those extinct names the authors have brought to light (the latter greatly outnumber the former), they have exercised all due caution. Early English, Swedish, and Dutch scribes had difficulties with Indian words, which, as was natural, they passed over lightly. They had no way of recording all the sounds they heard from the Indians or mistook important parts of words for mere sighs, grunts, or whispers. Inevitably, many Indian words which have come down to us in old manuscripts lend themselves to false interpretations.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949. Compiled by JAMES D. HARRISON and others. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950. 2,057 pp. $9.50.

Since 1928 when a previous *Biographical Directory* was issued, a whole new generation of statesmen and office holders has come to power—and to a large degree passed from the scene. George Moses, Reed Smoot, Frank B. Kellogg, Charles Curtis, Hiram Johnson, William E. Borah, and

Joseph T. Robinson are gone. Harry Truman was then Presiding Judge of the Jackson County Court; Alben Barkley, after 14 years in the House of Representatives, had just been advanced to the Senate; Cordell Hull and Fred Vinson were in the House; and Arthur Vandenberg was to enter the Senate by appointment that year. Maryland's Millard Tydings had just entered upon his Senate duties, and George Radcliffe was yet to serve in the upper house. The need for an up-to-date edition of this indispensable reference tool is thus self-evident. The format of the new volume is similar to the last one. Lists of the personnel of the Continental Congresses, the presidents' cabinets, and the Congresses through the 80th are followed by biographical sketches of the members written in plain and factual style. Enlarged biographies are to be found for such early Maryland figures as William Carmichael, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Daniel Carroll. A biography of Charles Carroll, Barrister, unrepresented in 1928, now appears. With commendable humility the compilers request that any errors of omission or commission be called to their attention.

The Carter Tree. Compiled by ROBERT RANDOLPH CARTER. Tabulated and Indexed by ROBERT ISHAM RANDOLPH. Santa Barbara, Cal.: Channel Lithograph Co., 1951. 243 pp. $5.

The tabulation and indexing of the genealogical chart of one of Virginia's most prominent families (published 1897) is a welcome addition to the sources used by genealogists and historians working in Virginiana. The dual advantage of a numerical table and an alphabetical index over a large chart or graph is that it expedites the search to find any one of ten thousand names.

Mr. Randolph's unique method of indexing is similar to that used in his book on the Randolphs. The first digit records the children of the second generation in the order of their birth, with each successive digit representing the children in each succeeding generation. Numerals over nine are indicated by lower case letters, *e.g.* 10 = x, 11 = a, 12 = b. Straightline descent as well as collateral relationships are shown. Brothers and sisters, first cousins, etc., are easily recognized because they have the same base number except for their terminal digits. It is easy to trace the intermarriages and cross connections since they are identified by their index number in parenthesis after the name of the reference.

The task of carefully preparing such a work deserves much praise. It could be copied with success by others interested in recording their lineage.

RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A Century of Service, the Massachusetts Mutual Story. By RICHARD HOOKER. Springfield, Mass.: Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1951. 191 pp.

The Massachusetts Mutual story is a detailed history of the personalities and circumstances that made the company what it is today. The reader may sometimes smile at the author's method of tying in the happenings in Springfield with historic national events, but one must keep in mind that the Springfield enterprise was becoming part of the national scene. In writing this account, Mr. Hooker has rendered a service to the insurance business and has added to the annals of business history.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Railroading the Modern Way. By S. KIP FARRINGTON, JR. New York: Coward-McCann, 1951. 395 pp.

New Castle, Delaware, A Bibliography in Commemorating of the Tercentenary of the Founding of New Castle. Compiled by PAUL W. KELLY. Newark: Newark Printing Co., 1951. 20 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A SUPPLEMENTARY COMMENTARY ON CERTAIN WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN MARYLAND

By William B. Marye

Since the appearance of my article on words and expressions in the June issue of this *Magazine*, I have received a considerable amount of information concerning the use of certain words which were the subject of my comments, data which, in my opinion, necessitate the writing of a supplementary article.

At the outset the writer made it plain that he spoke with authority only for a few old friends and neighbors, whom he named, and for himself, with particular reference to the eastern part of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County [1] and ventured farther afield only when he felt himself to be on sure ground, a feeling which was not always justified, as will later appear.

It comes out that in Baltimore even natives of the same class and race do not use the same words for the same thing. I was recently a guest at luncheon when a dish was set before us which our Baltimore-born hostess and her son styled "cottage-cheese"; but which another guest and the writer called "curd." A friend of the writer, the Baltimore-born son of German-born parents, said "cottage cheese"; while, oddly enough, Mr. William Calvert Steuart, a Baltimorean of colonial descent uses the word "smearcase," which has a German or Dutch derivation.[2]

In this city the words cymlin and squash appear to be contending for survival, with the odds in favor of squash. A well known Baltimore

[1] In my recent article I stated that we natives of the Upper Falls-Kingsville neighborhood say *hay-mow*. The writer's first cousin, Miss Victoria Gittings, not a native, to be sure, but a descendant of old families of those parts and long a resident there, declares that she has always said *hay-loft*. Miss Mary Holmes Smith, whose mother belonged to the family which gave its name to Kingsville, tells me that to her *hay-mow* means *hay stack*. This is all right according to the dictionaries; but I am quite sure that to most of us *hay-mow* meant no such thing.

[2] Mr. Steuart thinks that it comes from the Baltimore German-American element. Dr. Kurath would derive it from the Pennsylvania "Dutch," while I am told that Mr. Mencken would attribute it to the Holland-Dutch Americans. I suggest that it may come from all three sources. My family used to buy their butter and eggs when in town at the Lexington Market from a Mr. Ziegenfoos (?), who brought his produce in from Carroll County from his farm there where he resided. I can imagine them asking him for *curd* and his saying: "You want *smearcase*?"

victualler informs me that some of his customers use the one, others, the other word.[3] It should be pointed out that, properly speaking, a cymlin is a variety of squash,[4] and that some people know, and make use of this distinction.[5] Others, perhaps the majority, do not. Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, a native of Chestertown, tells me that he was brought up to say "cymlin."[6] Mr. John O'Ren, of the Baltimore *Sun*, a native Baltimorean, says "cymling."[7] Mrs. Thomas Gittings Buchanan, another Baltimorean, tells me that "cymlin" is the word she uses. Recently she found out, that her daughter-in-law, who is also a Baltimorean, did not know the meaning of the word. In Calvert County "cymlin" was in regular use some years ago;[8] recent reports are lacking.

The words and expression which follow are those which were considered in my previous article that stand in need of further comment. To these I have added two expressions which have not been taken up by me before.

Bloody, for Bullfrog

The writer was mistaken when he remarked that "bloody," for bullfrog, "may be strictly local," that is, used only in the eastern port of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County. Mr. O'Ren tells us that, in his younger days, he called bullfrogs "bloodies," but adds, significantly, that he never hears the word from members of the younger generation.[9] The word is known to Mr. Steuart, another Baltimorean.[10] I have a letter from Dr. Campbell E. Waters, of Washington, D. C., wherein he makes the following comment: "As a small boy the name 'bloodie' was familiar to me and now and then I heard 'bloodynouns'"[11] Dr. Waters was born on a country-place which was situated in what is now northwest Baltimore and includes the site of Easterwood Park. "Bloody," which is probably a contraction of the more common and perhaps more widespread *bloodynoun*, is not found in any standard American dictionary. It is not in Mencken's *American Language* (1936 edition; *Supplement I* and *Supplement II*).

[3] I refer to Mr. Bernard J. Winter, who lives at Club Hill, on the Harford Road.

[4] In Funk and Wagnalls *New Standard Dictionary* a cymlin (cymbling, simlin, cymling) is described as "a kind of turban shaped squash."

[5] Dr. Campbell E. Waters, of Washington, D. C., a distinguished chemist, who was born on an estate now included within the limits of Baltimore City, in a letter to the writer, dated August 20th, 1951, tells of a "farm woman" at the Center Market, this city, who draws a distinction between cymlins and squash. Dr. Waters adds this interesting information: "Another farmer in the same market, who came from Pennsylvania, never heard of cymlins before coming to a farm in Maryland." Dr. Waters tells me he was brought up to say "cymling" (letter of July 9, 1951).

[6] Letter to the writer, dated September 23, 1951.

[7] John O'Ren in "Down the Spillway," *The Sun*, July 16, 1951.

[8] Letter, Mrs. J. Dawson Reeder to the writer, July 2, 1951.

[9] John O'Ren, *loc. cit.*

[10] A typewritten communication from Mr. Steuart, presented to the Maryland Historical Society.

[11] Letter of July 9, 1951.

Ivy, for (Mountain) Laurel

The writer has received the following interesting and valuable comment on this subject in a letter from Mr. Heath Steele, of New York City, owner of a stock farm near Great Mills, Saint Mary's County, Maryland:[12] "You are not quite right in stating 'This beautiful shrub, kalmia latifolia, is, so far as we know, everywhere called laurel or mountain laurel in Maryland today. No doubt this has been the case for a long time. . . .' I am a Tennessean and of course never heard of anything but mountain laurel. Even rhododendrons were called laurel in the smoky mountains. In 1934 I bought a farm in southern Maryland, just north of old St. Mary's City, and I was quite surprised to hear several of the natives there refer to laurel as ivy. Although I do not know how extensively it is used, I can assure you the word 'ivy' is still in use in St. Mary's County."

Mr. James W. Dutton and his two brothers, who operate a farm near White Plains, in the northern part of Charles County, have never heard laurel called ivy.

The author has received the following interesting communication from Mrs. W. H. B. Bayliff, of Annapolis:[13] "In reading the surveyors' journal for the marking of the line which separates Maryland and the present state of Delaware I found this statement: 'May 15, 1751, . . . This evening we removed our tents to a small Ridge of Ivey or Laurel, this as wet as all the rest had been, was very fatiguing being Obliged to Travel through this Desert till Late at Night—often to mid thigh in Water.'"

This author's father was fond of recalling a Confederate soldiers' song which ran: "When the myrtle and the ivy were in bloom." We wonder whether laurel was meant by ivy in this case. If the song was funereal, as we suspect, Hedera, not Kalmia latifolia, was probably intended.

Hollow, for Tidal Cove

The writer was mistaken when he said that this usage is confined to Patapsco and Gunpowder Rivers.[14] I have a letter from Mrs. J. Dawson Reeder, who was brought up in Calvert County, who states, "The name Barn Hollow is still used to describe the graceful curve of shore line between Holland Pt. on the Patuxent River and Brinkleys Pt. This is to

[12] Letter to the writer, dated July 3, 1951.

[13] Letter from Mrs. Bayliff, received this past summer. This letter is not dated.

[14] In his letter of July 9, 1951, Dr. Campbell G. Waters gives the following information which is of considerable interest in this connection: "At Loch Raven, before the new dam spoiled its beauty, there used to be a 'Dead Man's Hollow.' It was not a tidal cove, of course, but a sharp bend in the lake. If you go to Loch Raven from Towson, the road through Providence joins at right angles the road around the lake. Turn to the left, and before you get to the bridge, you come to a little stream that flows under the road through a culvert. Dead Man's Hollow was there." It makes a difference whether or not the valley of this stream had the name of Dead Man's Hollow before it was partly flooded by the waters impounded by the first dam at Loch Raven on the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, but we doubt if anyone living could enlighten us on that subject.

the south of Holland Pt. The wide and deep cove to the north is known as Buena Vista Hollow." [15] Mrs. Reeder's family home was at Holland Point.

Land Terrapin, For Box Turtle

Mrs. Reeder, in her very kind letter which I referred to above, states that this word was in common use in Calvert County. The usual word in my part of Baltimore County and probably in general use in other parts of Maryland, besides Calvert, it is not to be found in any standard American dictionary, nor is it mentioned in Mencken's *American Language*, including the supplements thereto. The Rev. Armistead Welbourn of Leesburg, Virginia, reports that his family in Virginia "always spoke" of "land terrapins." [16]

Tea, Meaning Supper

In his recent article in this magazine the writer gave his guarantee for this usage in Baltimore County as of fifty years ago. He doubts if he has met with it there since then. Dr. Greenfield, born at Chestertown in 1893, sends us the information that in his boyhood days it was "common though not exclusive" in that neighborhood. This usage extended to Delaware. Mr. George Winchester, Secretary of the Delaware Historical Society, gives us the benefit of the following comments:

"Evidently the use of the word 'tea' for the evening meal (6.30-7 P. M.) was more general than you suggest. My mother always used it and she was a native Wilmingtonian with no southern connections. In addition I remember its use in 'The Rise of Silas Lapham' which I believe referred to New England family." [17]

Mrs. George Windell, Assistant Librarian of the Delaware Historical Society, refers me to a notice in the Wilmington *Daily Commercial*, of November 8, 1873, concerning an attempt to rob the National Bank of Delaware. The cashier of this bank, "while *at tea*, last evening, about 6.30," became suspicious, when he heard a "gentle rap." [18] In answer to my inquiry as to whether or no the usage in question occurred in the Midland Speech Area, outside of Baltimore County, a note in *Delaware History* refers to the diaries (1832-1839) of Mrs. Moses Bradford, wife of the editor of the *Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington). "Tea" was Mrs. Bradford's usual word for supper, but when it was a question of a formal occasion, Mrs. Bradford used the word "dinner." A single mention of "tea" is cited from a Delawarian's account of a visit to Ohio, 1826-1828.[19]

Harvest Home

My impression that this festival, which used to be celebrated annually at Saint John's Church, Kingsville, is not today commonly held by the Episcopal Churches of Maryland, is supported by the Rev. L. O. Forqueran, Librarian of the Diocesan Library, Baltimore, who has resided in this

[15] Letter of July 2, 1951.
[16] Letter of July 9, 1951.
[17] Post-card dated June 30, 1951.
[18] Letter of October 19, 1951.
[19] *Delaware History*, IV (September, 1951), 382-383.

state for the past 31 yers, and has never heard of a harvest-home being celebrated here by any church of his denomination. On the other hand, harvests-home were events quite familiar to him in his native state, Virginia. Mr. Russell Hicks informs me, however, that harvests-home are celebrated by the Methodist Church of Govans, Baltimore.[20] I have lately been informed that harvests-home are very commonly held by churches situated in the north western corner of New Jersey, and that a Harvest Home Dinner was advertised this year by the Lumberville Community Methodist Church, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.[21]

Forest, for Inland Regions

In the introduction to my recent article I gave a tentative date for the planting of the backwoods or "forest" in the Forks of Gunpowder River, Baltimore County. In this county special names were applied to the different forests, as, for example, Garrison Forest with which we are still familiar, and Nod Forest (now in Harford County). If there were two John Browns, one living in one of the necks, the other somewhere in the piedmont region, of this county, the latter would be designated as John Brown *forest*, unless John Brown *gent.*, and John Brown *carpenter* served to bring out the distinction. In Southern Maryland the usage has not yet entirely died out. Miss Lucie Leigh Bowie comments, "A visitor [to Prince George's County] when my mother was just married wrote of her attractive 'forest home.'" [22]

Mr. James W. Duncan, and his two brothers, of White Plains, Charles County, informed me recently that the natives living on tidewater in their county speak of the interior of the county as "the forest."

Heat Fly, or Heat Bug, for Locust

Mrs. Agnes Nash Boykin, and her sister, Mrs. Mary Nash Stokes, of Baltimore City, who were born on their father's farm, close to Lynchburg, Virginia, call locusts heat flies. This expression is not to be found in B. W. Green's *Word-Book of Virginia Folk-Speech* (1899). We have not found it in any standard American dictionary. A related expression, heat bug, for locust, is used in Charles County, according to a native and resident of that county, Mr. James W. Dutton, of White Plains, who is mentioned above.

Journey Proud

This expression, which signifies a mood or state of mind induced in someone by the prospect of going on a journey, was used by Mrs. Hattie Green, wife of William Green, of West Annapolis, Maryland. The Greens were former servants in my family, Hattie Green married, secondly, Isaiah

[20] Members of the congregation of the Govans M. E. Church present their pastor with canned goods and other provisions at the Harvest Home. At Saint John's, Kingsville, the Harvest Home was the occasion of a supper.

[21] For this information thanks are due to Mr. W. G. Harman, of Plainfield, New Jersey.

[22] Postcard, postmarked July 16, 1951.

Wilson, and died near Odenton, Maryland, in 1932. I have heard this admirable expression, for which I know of no substitute, from no one else, and have found it nowhere in print.

In addition to those persons mentioned above to whom he is indebted the author wishes to thank others who have given him the benefit of their encouragement, and have made interesting comments and helpful suggestions, notably, His Honor, Lee E. Gilbert, the Mayor of Laurel, Miss Elizabeth Billingslea, of Fountain Valley, Westminster, and Dr. J. Albert Chatard, of this city. With apologies to philologists for trespassing upon their preserves, uninvited, he hopes that he may be permitted to bow himself out, rather than that they should oblige him to retire in confusion, like Mr. Pickwick, when he found himself one night in the hotel bedchamber of an elderly, respectable lady.

Parker Genealogy Prizes—The closing date for submission of manuscripts in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prizes for Maryland Genealogies is December 31, 1951. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal in some degree with a Maryland family or families. Prizes will be as follow: First Prize, $30; Second Prize, $20; Third Prize, $10.

Bishop and Ireland—Desire additional information about following persons: Elisha Bishop, born in Anne Arundel Co. in 1760, son of Thomas and Sarah Bishop. Later, while a resident of Berkeley Co., Va., he enlisted as a substitute for his father in the Revoluntionary War in March, 1779. William Ireland had a son Alexander born in Maryland in 1772, and, by a second wife, a daughter Ann or Nancy. The family migrated from Maryland to Harrison Co., now West Virginia.

Mrs. L. D. Prewitt,
Broadview, Parsons Campus, Fairfield, Iowa.

Borden—Lincoln—Abraham Lincoln was married to Eleanor Borden on January 30, 1781, by Rev. John McPherson in William and Mary Parish, St. Mary's Co. Information concerning identity of this couple is desired.

Richard D. Mudd, M. D.,
1001 Hoyt St., Saginaw, Michigan.

Clarke—Nicholls—Information desired as to parentage of Joseph Clarke who married his second cousin, Ann Nicholls, in Anne Arundel Co., July 29, 1793. Ann Nicholls, decendant of William and Martha Smith Nicholls, was a resident of Prince George's Co. Was Joseph a son of Daniel Clarke who married Ann Smith, a daughter of Nathan Smith? Could Joseph have been a brother of Judge Daniel Clarke of Maryland? Joseph Clarke died in Shelby Co., Ky., in 1821.

Minor E. Clark,
411 Wapping St., Frankfort, Ky.

Caldwell—Rebecca Caldwell of Somerset Co. married Benjamin Stephens in 1758. They went to Bedford Co., Pa., after their marriage. Want name of Rebecca's father; where did he live in Somerset Co.?

Mrs. L. H. Mayer, Jr.,
"Miramont," R. D. 5, Johnstown, Pa.

Murray—Wish to secure information on early life and education of William Vans Murray (1760-1803), Congressman and Minister to the Netherlands, as well as on Murray's political and economic activities in Maryland. His family home was "Glasgow" in Cambridge, Dorchester Co.

Alexander De Conde,
Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.

Chesapeake Bay—Several articles of Chesapeake Bay interest have recently appeared in the new magazine, *Ships and Sailing*. These are "Eastern Shore Night Boat" by Dick Moore (January), "Chesapeake Bay Sailers" (September), "Ramming Around Chesapeake Bay" by Dick Moore (September), "Chesapeake Cordage and Canvas" by Robert H. Burgess (November), and "Salt Water Motoring" by Charles Layng (December).

Morris Markey's article entitled, "Chesapeake Bay Country," appeared in November issue of *Holiday*.

Sailing Craft of the Chesapeake Bay, a leaflet published last month by the Society, describes and illustrates types of vessels used by Chesapeake Bay seamen. Copies may be had for five cents each, eight cents by mail. In quantities of 10 or more three cents each, postage extra.

Bartgis—An article by Klaus G. Wust concerning Matthais Bartgis' newspapers in Virginia appeared in *The American-German Review* for October.

Winterthur Museum—The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum is described at length with beautiful illustrations in the November *Antiques*. Several of the rooms and furnishings were taken from Maryland houses.

Western Maryland—An interesting article on "Frontier Homes of the Potomac"—the Jonathan Hager house and many others—by Mary Vernon (Mrs. Frank W.) Mish appeared in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, 85 (November, 1951), 903-907, 993.

The Abbey (Ringgold Family)—It is stated in the article by Raymond B. Clarke, Jr., that appeared in the June number that "the property seems to have passed to his brother William, who had married Charlotte Spencer." As a descendant of William Ringgold, the brother of Thomas Ringgold, the merchant of Chestertown, I should like to point out the fact that his brother did not marry Charlotte Spencer. He was Major William Ringgold of Eastern Neck. He was a member of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence of Kent County. It is interesting to know also that he was the grandfather of Richard Williamson Ringgold, who was president of Washington College in 1832. William Ringgold married first Sarah Jones and the second time, his cousin, Mary Wilmer. He and his brother were descended from the first wife of James Ringgold, son of the first Thomas Ringgold in Maryland. An account of this William Ringgold is given on page 65 of Hanson's *Old Kent* (1876).

The William Ringgold who married Charlotte, the daughter of Isaac Spencer, belonged to another line. He was descended from the second wife of James Ringgold, son of the first Thomas. (The second wife was Mary Vaughn as correctly given in the article.) He was the son of Thomas Ringgold and Elizabeth Sudler. He married Charlotte Spencer and his will was probated in Kent County in 1798. A history of this branch of the family, *Ringgold of Kent and Queen Anne's Counties* (1900), has been compiled by Duncan Veazy. On page 14 of this book is given an account of this William Ringgold, a Queen Anne's planter.

As the family is so complicated and as there seem to have been two Major William Ringgolds at the time—one a member of the Committee of Observation of Queen Anne's and the other a member of the Committee of Safety of Kent—it is not surprizing that there should have been confusion of persons. Then, too, in the cases in point each William Ringgold had a brother Thomas as well as a nephew Thomas.

Katherine Dudley Thomas,
230 West Lafayette Ave., Baltimore.

Carey—Mathew Carey used but one "t" in his first name and Henry C. Carey was the son rather than the brother of Mathew Carey as is stated in "An Unpublished Letter of 'Parson' Weems" in the September number.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

Life Membership is considered a "good investment" by many. An annual member becomes a Life Member on payment of $100 and pays no further dues. A Life Member has the satisfaction of knowing that the $100 payment is added to the Society's permanent endowment.

Levy—On October 12, 1802, the Military Academy graduated its first class consisting of Joseph Gardner Swift of Massachusetts and Simon Magruder Levy of Maryland. Swift had a distinguished career, both in the Army and in civil life; when he died in 1865 at the age of 82, he was highly honored by his Alma Mater and his memory is well conserved here with two fine portraits from life, official records, his personal memoirs, and letters written by him. Poor Simon Levy, however, served only three years in the Corps of Engineers before ill health forced him to resign, and he died in 1807. . . . As our Sesquicentennial Year approaches, we are anxious to determine if there is in existence some portrait of Simon M. Levy of which we could obtain a photograph. We should also like to learn more regarding him and his family. . . . I have a feeling that Simon Levy must have been a young man of considerable learning and promise. It would be a real pleasure to reveal him more fully to the graduates and cadets of today, for whom he is now only a name.

Col. Allen L. Keyes,
U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTORS

A graduate student at Johns Hopkins, MR. HABER is preparing a study of the relationship of government to the development of science in the early national period. ☆ MISS POOLE, a native of St. Mary's County and a graduate of George Washington University, taught history in the public schools of Washington, D. C., for a number of years. ☆ A previous contributor, MR. CARROLL, of Easton, is a doctoral candidate in religion at Duke University. ☆ MR. MAGRIEL, a noted historian of pugilism, is at work on a book about the American prize-ring from 1735 to 1880.

INDEX TO VOLUME XLVI

Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.